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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRELATES OF ADHERENCE TO THE ADOLESCENT PEER CULTURE.
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DESCRIPTORS- *PEER GROUPS, PEER RELATIONSHIP, SOCIOECONOMIC INFLUENCES, HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, SELF ACTUALIZATION, *ADOLESCENTS, AGE, *ATTITUDE TESTS, *RESEARCH PROJECTS, FACTOR ANALYSIS, SEX (CHARACTERISTICS),

THE ADOLESCENT PEER CULTURE WAS EXAMINED TO DETERMINE CONDITIONS AMONG ADOLESCENTS ASSOCIATED WITH DEPENDENCE ON, OR INDEPENDENCE OF, THE YOUTH CULTURE. A MODEL CONTAINING THE DIMENSIONS OF THE YOUTH CULTURE WAS CONSTRUCTED. ADOLESCENT YOUTH CULTURE ADHERENCE INCLUDES THE TENDENCY TO VIEW THE ADOLESCENT YEARS AS IDYLLIC AND DEVELOPMENTALLY DISTINCT, AND THE TENDENCY TO CONFLICT WITH THE USUAL REPRESENTATIVES OF SOCIETAL AUTHORITY. FROM THE MODEL CATEGORIES, ITEMS WERE DERIVED AND ASSEMBLED IN A LIKERT-TYPE ATTITUDE SCALE. PEER DEPENDENCY WAS COMPARED WITH AGE, SEX, PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS. THE SAMPLE CONSISTED OF 3,400 SUBJECTS FROM FIVE STUDENT POPULATIONS. FINDINGS WERE--(1) ADHERENCE TO THE ADOLESCENT PEER CULTURE IS GREATER AMONG BOYS THAN AMONG GIRLS, (2) YOUTH CULTURE ADHERENCE IS NEGATIVELY RELATED TO SCHOOL ACTIVITY, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND APTITUDE, SOCIAL LEADERSHIP, AND COLLEGE ATTENDANCE, AND (3) INCREASING YOUTH CULTURE ADHERENCE IS ASSOCIATED WITH DECREASING SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS. YOUTH CULTURE MAY SERVE AS A SUBSTITUTE VEHICLE IN THE ATTAINMENT OF IDENTITY, AND IS CHOSEN BECAUSE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL NEED. FINDINGS RELATED TO DIFFERENTIAL QUALITATIVE USE OF THE YOUTH CULTURE BY SEX AND AGE ARE PRESENTED. (AUTHOR/PS)

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRELATES OF ADHERENCE TO THE ADOLESCENT PEER CULTURE

by

WILLIAM V. BURLINGAME PH. D.

A report submitted to the
U. S. Commissioner of Education

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has become increasingly useful for social scientists and educators to assume the existence of an adolescent society which secures the loyalty of youth to a set of values which is, in part, mildly or vigorously in conflict with the larger culture. The present study sought to: (1) define the dimensions of the youth culture and develop an instrument to measure adherence, (2) chart the ascendancy and decline of youth culture adherence over time, (3) examine the correlates of adherence, and (4) integrate these findings with the postulates from phase theories of human growth and development.

The youth culture model included a number of dimensions on which adolescents tend to vary in belief and practice from adults and children: (1) the tendency to behave as if growth were discontinuous, i.e., to over-value the "teen-age" years as developmentally distinct and idyllic, (2) the tendency to generate an age-level reference group which dictates separate practice in areas of dress, language, music, and dance, among others, (3) the tendency to come into conflict with adults and societal institutions. Many possibilities existed for taxonomic description of the youth culture, and the above are but three generalizations; the value system was examined in considerable detail. The terms "youth culture," "adolescent peer culture," and "adolescent society" have been used interchangeably.

The correlates of youth culture adherence included measures of age, academic achievement and aptitude, investment in social activity, and investment in employment. Other independent variables included the social, geographic, and economic differences among the communities in which research was conducted.

The youth culture has been construed in various ways. Some have viewed it as growth enhancing while others have ascribed to it such qualities as "anti-intellectual," "conformist," "hedonistic," and "materialistic." According to some, its goals and functions are antithetical to those supported and promulgated by formal education. Need existed to explore and document conditions which are, at the same moment, associated with relative independence of this peer culture and its alleged biases, and relative ego integrity, self-esteem, and achievement. Secondly, there has been little systematic attempt to tie the peer culture phenomenon to more general systems of personality growth and development. Need existed to examine the course, function, and effect of the youth culture over time. Finally, there was need to investigate societal and environmental conditions which encourage independence and achievement.

The implications for social welfare and education are manifold, particularly at a time when the relationships between environmental opportunity, optimum psychological growth, and the individual's responsibility to society (in terms of productivity) are under investigation in unprecedented fashion. The assumption of much current legislation is that significant proportions of the nation's populace are handicapped by an improvident environment which accumulates disadvantage with the passage of time. There was need to examine variables which serve to confer independence and maturity rather than the dependence inherent in the youth culture. Research dedicated to investigating these variables is not entirely new by any means. It has, however, often assumed the somewhat simplistic, behavioristic stance that the mere manipulation of reward systems operating in American secondary schools may counteract the deleterious effects of the peer culture. It would be advantageous to examine these same effects assuming that they serve some larger purpose which might be better explained by the interaction of environmental conditions, societal demands, and the developing personalities of children and adolescents.

Chapter II summarizes the literature and the various postures traditionally used to account for the youth culture. The hypotheses are proposed in Chapter III , as well as the procedures of study and the selection of subjects. Chapter IV includes an extensive discussion of the youth culture model and the procedures employed in constructing the Peer Dependency Scale, and in securing measures of reliability, homogeneity, and validity. The findings are discussed and interpreted in Chapter V.

The project was financed in part by the United States Office of Education under the terms of the Small Contract Program. The award was made in March of 1966 and the project terminated on December 31, 1966. The Graduate School of the University of Washington provided a stipend for the principal investigator for the specific purpose of pursuing the present study during the 1965-1966 academic year.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature relevant to problems of growth for youth between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five (and literature relevant to the problems faced by human institutions which must cope with these same youth) is massive in quantity but exceedingly diverse in origin. It seems likely that as many citations might be found in the recent popular press as in the more scholarly journals. Examining such writing does yield significant clues regarding the stereotyped concerns and suggested mass corrective procedures. It is an easy matter to document the growing proportion of space and time which has been allotted in the nation's mass media to problems variously labeled as "teen-age," "adolescent," or "youth." In some respects, the form and content of such presentations is traditional and any recent change appears to be one of frequency or quantity. An informal survey conducted in the early phases of the present study provided interesting statistics: in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature (Robinson, 1964, 1965), some forty-eight titles were listed in 1964 (under the categories adolescence, youth, youth employment), while the first five months of 1965 yielded thirty-five titles. This represented a 75% increase over the first months of

1964. Viewing the data another way, ten magazines selected from the twenty-five best selling magazines demonstrated an 80% increase in the number of these articles for the five months of 1965. (In this comparison, subject headings were sixteen in number, from "adjustment" to "youth.")

At first glance, the titles were familiar; that is, they included the perennial topics of juvenile delinquency, sexual promiscuity and venereal disease, narcotics addiction, drop-outs, and the consumption of alcohol by adolescents. Of late, however, many articles have taken on a different complexion. Within months, journalists seemingly arrived at a relatively novel concept, the "society" of peers, as a means of accounting for the virtually incomprehensible behavior of adolescents. This society was variously titled or described as "the crowd," "the adolescent culture," "the teen-culture," "teen-agery," "youthese," and the flippant "teeny-boppers," and its principal characteristic resided in the power to mold adolescent behavior in a fashion deleterious to the goals and objectives of adult institutions.

Materialism, rebelliousness, a hedonistic bias, anti-intellectualism (which was masked paradoxically by greater academic competence), and conformity were the oft-mentioned traits; interpretation varied as to whether they were reflections of a decaying adult culture or some divergent system developed by adolescents themselves. The trappings or symbols of the culture were cited: the cult music and its effect on style and taste ("Beatlemania," the "Liverpool look"), new forms of recreation (resort rioting, the surfing craze, protest), and new forms of dance. Some writers speculated on the obvious influence of the adolescent culture on the usually sedate middle- and upper-middle-class adult culture. Perhaps the greatest signal event was Time Magazine's choice of "Man of the Year" for 1966 as "Twenty-five and Under" (Time, January 6, 1967, pp. 18-23). Time alone acknowledged some 150 separate pieces written about youth in the preceding three years. Implicit in the more recent articles were a general softening of tone and a recognition of promise within the coming generation.

In any event, the investigation of a hypothetical adolescent peer society has had limited but vigorous currency in academic and scholarly circles. The forerunners were Parsons (1943), Tryon (1944), and Hollingshead (1949). Parsons has continued to define and describe the nuclear family with its intense emotional and affective relationships which provide the context and means for personality development but contain, as well, the seeds of conflict when emotional independence must be secured. In addition, he has outlined the social, economic, and institutional changes of the past 100 years which have promoted an independent youth culture. Tryon's work represented an empirical attempt to define certain of the traits and values of the youth culture and devolved from the studies of adolescents conducted at the University of California. Hollingshead's epochal work, Elmtown's Youth, is representative of the sociological inquiries into the institutional and social structure of American towns and cities. Although his findings pointed to a younger generation which was acting as if driven by a separate value base, the full complexity of the issue became apparent when it was obvious that many of the major lessons of life were social class lessons, and that youths matured into prototypes of their parents.

Parsons' summary written in 1943 is as relevant now as it was then.

> We have then a situation where at the same time the inevitable importance of family ties is intensified and a necessity to become emancipated from them is imposed. This situation would seem to have a good deal to do with the fact that with us adolescence -- and beyond -- is, as has been frequently noted, a "difficult" period in the life cycle. In particular, associated with this situation is the prominence in our society of what has been called a "youth culture," a distinctive pattern of values and attitudes of the age groups between childhood and the assumption of full adult responsibilities. This youth culture with its irresponsibility, its pleasure-seeking, its "rating and dating," and its intensification of the romantic love pattern, is not a simple matter of "apprenticeship" in adult values and responsibilities. It bears many of the marks of reaction to emotional tension and insecurity, and in all probability has among its functions that of easing the difficult process of adjustment from childhood emotional dependency to full "maturity" (Parsons, 1943).

The theoretical issues which arose from such early statements are the same ones that have continued to plague more recent investigators and have served as issues for research. What are the precise values and behaviors of adolescents who adhere to the "youth culture?"

If "culture" implies a shared value base, and if youth mature to resemble the older generation, then is it justifiable to hold that the youth culture has a "distinctive pattern of values?" What are the precise psychological patterns that account for individual differences in subscription to the youth culture? What is the psychological meaning and utility of the youth culture? What societal changes have fostered its development?

The attitudes and behaviors usually attributed to the youth culture have been documented and treated in detail in Chapter IV but are summarized briefly at this point. They include: (1) the tendency to view the adolescent years as separate and apart, often possessing idyllic and highly desirable qualities, (2) the tendency to constitute peers or age mates as a reference group for decision-making and for the generation of codes of behavior, (3) the tendency to value social status within the peer group and to participate in social ranking and rating practices, and the outcome of (2) and (3), which is, (4) the tendency to come into conflict with the usual representatives of societal authority, i.e., parents and teachers, (5) the tendency to create distinctive subcultural trappings, including language (slang or jargon), dress, music, and dance, (6) the tendency to devalue academic achievement while still achieving, and its corollary, (7) the tendency to value risk, danger, and stimulation, which in extreme form resembles delinquency or irresponsibility, and (8) the tendency to define the modes of heterosexual contact. It can be seen that these categories are certainly not "tight" or without overlap. They do include the practices which are described throughout the literature concerning adolescence. The foregoing list of attributes was designed to be reflective of the American secondary school (containing children from ages twelve to eighteen) rather than the college generation. These latter youth appear to have modified their value systems, often to include the social reform motive; they have also begun to sense their continuity with older adults to greater extent.

The 1950's and 1960's witnessed increased and renewed interest and research, particularly regarding the issue of the existence of a youth culture. A major definitive piece of research was conducted by Coleman (1961) in several Midwestern secondary schools; he concluded that the adolescent culture was indeed pervasive and exercised powerful control over its constituents, which when combined with the faulty system of social rewards devised by adults, operated to discourage scholarly and intellectual pursuits. His analysis of high school culture demonstrated the great importance of social status among adolescents and the modes by which it might be achieved: athletics (boys), activities and beauty (girls), and the need to avoid the "scholar" stereotype. Coleman's research has produced disclaimers and those who would seek to add greater definition to his findings. Strom (1963) tested the Coleman assumption of divergent value systems by examining norm differences between teachers and high school seniors. He found greater intensity and greater crystalization of norms among the teachers. This latter study might have had much greater value had younger adolescents also been surveyed. Since Strong's (1943) studies of vocational development revealed that the greatest interest differences occurred between fifteen year old boys and adult women, there is good reason to suspect that similar norm and value differences might have been revealed in the Strom study had the sample been expanded downward. Epperson (1964) questioned an apparent imbalance in the wording of one of Coleman's crucial questionnaire items. After securing equivalence of wording, the number of adolescents who would side with friends in the face of parental disapproval dropped sharply.

Elkin and Westley (1955) took strong issue with the notion of a youth culture, basing their conclusions on their own data and a reinterpretation of Hollingshead's (1949) investigation. Bealer and Willits (1961) subscribed to a similar argument. In general, investigators of this persuasion noted the cultural continuity between generations and reasoned that if adolescents mature to hold values similar to those of their parents, then the concept of a youth culture with opposing values is hardly logical or useful. The point often missed in these arguments is that adolescents do indeed share many values with adults, but that the very separation on other issues may be the vehicle by which they achieve autonomy and maturity. The possible psychological meanings of the various components of the youth culture value system are discussed in Chapter IV.

Some integration of the two viewpoints has since been achieved. Jahoda and Warren (1965) believed the issue to be "pseudo," and one which contained much greater complexity. To some extent the viewpoint chosen (a "discontinuous subculture" or a "continuous nonsubculture") is a function of the approach of the investigator:

> It follows that such a group in society can usefully be studied from the point of view of what they have in common as well as from the point of view of what they share with the major culture. Both are legitimate approaches whose ultimate value stems from what they reveal (Jahoda & Warren 1965, p. 143).

Such a resolution is not so simple however. For, at the same moment that adolescents may mature to resemble the previous generation and to possess similar values, they often do so by rejecting the usual means of value transmission. A paradox is thus apparent. It may be that the issue of the existence of a separate subculture is less relevant than the fact that adult identity and adult values are achieved through temporary adherence to the society of peers. There are bound to be commonalities and differences, but the primary difference remains in the means of value subscription rather than the ultimate quality of the value which is chosen. The second factor which may account for the dissimilarity between adolescents and adults (as well as the ultimate similarity) is the obvious observation that the two groups exist at different points in the life cycle. They differ, then, as the tasks of life are different, but with a basically common value matrix. Douvan and Adelson (1966) argued similarly:

> Parent-peer conflicts are less severe and general than they are reputed to be. Some discrepancy of values is sure to be found since the two generations differ in perspectives but for the most part, we believe, core values are shared by parents and peers and conflicts center on peripheral or token issues (Douvan & Adelson, 1966, p. 84).

> Does this generation of adolescents propose any serious revolutions in morals and ideology? If it is doing so, it is doing it silently. The issues we hear about, the publicized issues are the trivial ones having to do with taste and manners (Douvan & Adelson, 1966, p. 199).

Certain reservations must be exercised on the preceeding statement. Although "core values" may be shared, it does not mean that the points of discrepancy are "trivial," "token," or "peripheral." Indeed, they may constitute the psychological medium and means for growth. That they appear to be of lesser consequence is perhaps because they are less relevant to adults. Nor is the present generation of youth particularly silent or passive. To the extent that Douvan and Adelson referred to high school youth, the issues may be taste and manners; for college youth, the issue is quite another matter. For present purposes, an adolescent subculture is assumed as a matter of convenience. The conceptual model of the youth culture (Chapter IV) was designed to emphasize the points of discontinuity with adult values and the unique set of values which is more or less common among adolescents.

Specific research was summarized by Smith and Kleine (1966) who brought together the findings of Seidler and Ravitz (1955), Rosen (1955), Elkin and Westley (1955), Haller and Butterworth (1961), Bealer and Willits (1961), Coleman (1961), Simpson (1962), Brittain (1963), Alexander and Campbell (1964), Epperson (1964), and McDill and Coleman (1965):

> While the usual problems of sample and instrument comparability occurred, the substantive findings seemed to be these: (a) Both parents and peers exerted influences upon choices made by adolescents. (b) Among friends the closer the relationship, the greater the impact. (c) When parent and peers were in agreement the behavior was most likely to occur. (d) When parents and peers disagreed or had varying relevant information the relevant influence varied with the issue; e. g., peers had more influence on the courses to be taken and clothes to wear while parents had more influence on how to get selected for a school honor (Smith & Kleine, 1966, p. 427).

Summarizing the debate regarding the youth culture, Smith and Kleine (1966) held:

> The present debate concerning the existence of an adolescent subsociety appears destined for a fate similar to that of the heredity and environment controversy: the emphatic but oversimplified "yes" and "no" answers give way to more subdued complex questions. Adolescents share some values uniquely with other adolescents on a national scale; some values are shared uniquely with specific reference groups; and some values are shared with the broader adult cultural fabric of which they represent bright, bold strands. For some research questions, phrased at varying conceptual levels (e. g., economic, sociological, or psychological) the use of the concept "subculture" may permit examination of certain discontinuous or continuous aspects; for other questions the concept will not be of help (Smith & Kleine, 1966, p. 427).

What then, have been the theoretical bases for a youth culture? To this point they have included explanations which are not so much mutually exclusive as they are partial accounts derived from several disciplines including the economic, the sociological or social psychological, and the individual psychological.

The most commonly proposed theory is herein labeled the "changing social fabric" theory and contains an amalgam of economic, sociological, and anthropological assumptions. In general, these social scientists have stressed industrialization and its manifold effects. As the nation has moved from a rural economy, the locus and unit of production has gradually transcended the home and farm. The wage earner (and the means by which one is productive) is no longer conspicuous, and youth cannot learn to be productive at the knees of their parents. Nor can children themselves be productive, for there is little for them to produce; in effect, the United States has been the first nation to transform youth from "a family asset as labor to a family liability as student-consumer" (Denney, 1962). Since long preparation is required in order to assume economic responsibility, and since the adolescent is essentially useless in the labor market, a prolonged period of dependency is imposed and learning must be institutionalized. Thus, the secondary school (and college) exists, consisting of many individuals of the same age, from whom society can demand little and provide little in terms of landmarks by which to measure growth to maturity. Hence, the conditions are set for an independent subculture with goals, objectives, tasks, and landmarks of its own which are important to its constituents. Although this explanation is useful in accounting for the youth society and culture, it does not contribute particularly to an understanding of its qualitative aspects or its psychological meaning for individual adolescents.

The following citations demonstrate the ways in which these changes have been construed. Eisenstadt (1962) noted that training in adult roles and responsibilities can no longer occur within the family unit, thus creating the need for additional institutions.

> The fullest development of this type of the social division of labor, however, is to be found in modern industrial societies. Their inclusive membership is usually based on the universal criterion of citizenship and is not conditioned by membership in any kinship group. In these societies, the family does not constitute a basic unit of labor, especially not in production and distribution, and even in the spheres of consumption its functions become more limited. Occupations are not transmitted through heredity . . . .
> . . . .
> . . . Youth groups tend to develop in all societies in which such a division of labor exists. Youth's tendency to coalesce in such groups is rooted in the fact that participation in the family became insufficient for developing full identity or full social maturity, and that the roles learned in the family did not constitute an adequate basis for developing such identity and participation (Eisenstadt, 1962, pp. 35-36).

The hiatus between generations and the banding together of dependent youth is further accentuated by social change and the differential nature of life's tasks for each age group:

> Our society is changing at an ever increasing rate; adults cannot afford to shape their children in their own image. Parents are often obsolescent in their skills, trained for jobs that are passing out of existence, and thus unable to transmit directly their accumulated knowledge. They come to be "out of touch with the times," and unable to understand, much less, to inculcate, the standards of a social order that has changed since they were young (Coleman, 1961, p. 2).
>
> Not only are parent and child, at any given moment, in different stages of development, but the content which the parent acquired at the stage where the child now is, was a different content from that which the child is now acquiring.

> Since the parent is supposed to socialize the child, he tends to apply erstwhile but now inappropriate content. He makes his mistake, and cannot remedy it, because, due to the logic of personality growth, his basic orientation was formed by the experiences of his own childhood (Davis, 1940, p. 36).

Because youth is an "outsider" looking in while crucial social, political, and economic decisions are made, and because authority is invested in age, further bases for separation are provided. Youth feels less commitment to the status quo and often must gain authority by wresting it from authority figures (Davis, 1940, pp. 39-41). Finally, due to the failure of society to institutionalize the steps in securing authority, further ambiguity is created.

> . . . the exact time when authority is relinquished, the exact amount, and the proper ceremonial behavior are not clearly defined. Not only do different groups and families have conflicting patterns, and new situations arise to which old solutions do not apply, but the different spheres of life do not synchronize, maturity in one sphere, and immaturity in another often coexisting. The readjustment of authority between individuals is always a ticklish process, and when it is a matter of such close authority as that between parent and child, it is apt to be still more ticklish. The failure of our culture to institutionalize this readjustment by a series of well-defined, well-publicized steps is undoubtedly a cause of much parent-youth dissension (Davis, 1940, pp. 41-42).

The age level separation and the development of a separate subculture were described by Coleman.

> He is "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward upon his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. With his fellows he comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interactions within itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society (Coleman, 1961, p. 3).

By far the most colorful statement has come from Goodman:

> We have sold the young the concept of "youth" only too well. "Teenagers" are not adolescents in a total society of all ages; they are a race with a distinct plumage and music. Their high priests, unlike the movie heroes or athletes of other times, who were grownup models, now tend to perform specifically for the teen audience and are hardly (or not yet) out of their teens themselves . . . .
> Such a subculture is not a subsociety like the youth houses of primitive tribes, which were organized around the interests and secrets of adolescents but still took part in the community life. Rather, it is a language and mores against the adults, or at best excluding them, as if they were a foreign tribe, probably hostile. In principle, every teenager is a delinquent. Little communication can occur between the generations. Embarrassment becomes withdrawal if not sullenness, and diffidence becomes indifference. A major part of the subculture, in schools, is to nullify the whole processing system by distraction, cheating and conspiring to be stupid (Goodman, 1966, pp. 18-19).

A second set of interrelated theoretical postures is entitled the "threshold" and "market" explanations. They tend to utilize such factors as population change, advances in technology, economic well-being, and the mass media to account for the adolescent peer culture. In common, they each hold to a single factor, somewhat simplistic rationale. Some have claimed that adolescents of today are little different from adolescents of distant generations and that the concept of a youth culture is not particularly advantageous in understanding adolescents. The changes which appear to be occurring devolve from the rapid increase in sheer numbers of adolescents; in recent years, these numbers have crossed a visibility "threshold" to the extent that a homogenized subculture has emerged. Adolescents are now so conspicuous to one another that their conformity has produced a national and international uniformity. Interpreting this as fundamental change is, however, in error since the basic characteristics remain unchanged. The notion of a subculture is superfluous. Most proponents have cited the mere size of the adolescent population which is expanding at a rate four times as great as the national average. (The nation now has approximately twenty-five million people aged thirteen to nineteen; the mean age of the total population has dropped to the late twenty's.)

Advances in technology, particularly in the mass media, have enhanced the tendency toward homogeneity. Radio, and the "disk jockey" who caters to adolescents, has produced a cult music and jargon. Television has permitted adolescent dance and music to take on national uniformity, while the microgroove record has allowed adolescents to carry their cult music beyond the television screen or radio set. Electronically amplified musical instruments and mass communication encourage adolescent musical groups to perform the same music in the same way over the whole landscape, while adolescents dance to the same steps they have observed on television.[1] The only necessary concomitant is the relative affluence which has occurred since World War II: adolescents must be able to purchase the subcultural symbols and trappings.

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[1] Interestingly enough, the present investigator and others have placed the approximate date at which adolescent music achieved cultural independence and homogeneity at about 1954. This year marked the advent of Elvis Presley who was the first vocalist to appeal solely to adolescents and to gain international and near universal acceptance within this age group. (Frank Sinatra who was current during the 1940's held equal appeal for adults.) Since 1954 adolescent music has become more and more distinctive and restricted to adolescence. Bernard Davies, an English social scientist, concurred with this date in verbal exchange with this investigator.

Akin to these phenomena is the "market" theory which holds that the youth culture is the product of the acumen and salesmanship of the advertising industry. There is no subculture other than that created by stimulated need, and the behavioristic assumption is made that any product can become a need if it is peddled and packaged correctly. Bernard (1961, p. 1) wrote, "Teen-age culture is a product of affluence; we can afford to keep a large population in school through high school." As summarized by Smith and Kleine (1961), she adhered to the arguments presented above:

> She presented an array of statistics which supported the commonsense notion that as bands played or singers sang and as adolescents completed the interaction through tuning radios, attending concerts of itinerant musicians, and buying records, there came to be common tastes and preferences. She characterize the society as a leisure class with money to spend on material items -- clothes, cosmetics, records, cars, etc. It has a common language -- "clod," "wheel," "tough" and so forth -- and a journalistic literature of its own through teenage magazines (Smith & Kleine, 1966, p. 426).

Such a contention has its limitations. The very need for conformity remains unexplained as does the apparent need for constant flux (faddism) within the conformity pattern. Nor does it account for the constant and repetitious themes, nor for the failure of certain promotional schemes to succeed. The economic, "threshold," and "market" theories suffer from severely simplified assumptions about the nature of human motivation.

Several volumes of social criticism have appeared in recent years which point up the plight of adolescents in organized society. Of these, Friedenberg's *The Vanishing Adolescent* (1959) and *Coming of Age in America* (1963), Musgrove's *Youth and the Social Order* (1964), and Henry's *Culture Against Man* (1963) suggested a sort of "alienation" of youth from the promise inherent in this phase of life. It is as if society via adults has conspired to prevent the decisive articulation of identity by rewarding mediocrity, conformity, and superficiality. The peer culture, then, is logically merely an age level manifestation of adult values. To the extent that it is in conflict with adults, it may be commendable, but too often, even this reaction is inarticulate and misguided. In *The Vanishing Adolescent*, Friedenberg held that adolescence is disappearing as a stage when identity can be achieved; the adolescent " . . . merely undergoes puberty and simulates maturity" (1959). In *Coming of Age in America*, Friedenberg found grievous fault with American education:

> I have found the life of the high school to be, in this respect, very often like a bad book; sentimental, extrinsically motivated, emotionally and intellectually dishonest. The animus is directed against those of the young who are too fully alive, too completely realized, to fit among its characters. They are disparaged; by its disparagement the school wastes its opportunity to help youngsters create a style suited to their romantic age (Friedenberg, 1963, p. 219).

Smith and Kleine summarized Friedenberg's "findings" as follows:

> He argued that the adult society, trying to reproduce a narrow conception of itself, controls youth and keeps them dependent through such social institutions as the public high school. He referred ironically to the public high school as the "cradle of liberty," and gave descriptions of limited physical freedom, corridor passes, adult privilege, prisoner's sense of time, and lack of privacy. This environment produced an adolescent value structure characterized by superficiality, desire to make a good impression, conformity to ideals of mediocrity, and well-roundedness -- qualities functional for later success in American society but alien to Friedenberg's vision of the sensitive, the cultivated, and the competent. His research focused on the trends in adolescent conformity to dominant adult values . . . (Smith & Kleine, 1966, p. 426).

Goodman in Growing Up Absurd (1960) is also representative of the "alienation" point of view. Speaking from the vantage point of cognitive and Gestalt psychology, he contended that, in large part, society has ceased to make sense for the adolescent. Objective opportunity is lacking, and "security," that is, " . . . the sense of being needed for one's unique contribution . . . " (Goodman, 1960, p. 22), is not easily obtained.

> It's hard to grow up when there isn't enough man's work. There is "nearly full employment," but there get to be fewer jobs that are necessary or unquestionably useful; that require energy and draw on some of one's best capabilities; and that can be done keeping one's honor and dignity. In explaining the widespread troubles of adolescents and young men, this simple objective factor is not much mentioned (Goodman, 1960, p. 17).

The inevitable and logical consequence is the youth culture which provides a series of eccentric, substitute vehicles toward independence and maturity. Goodman suggested by implication that in the proportion to which "objective opportunity" (i.e., meaningful activity, in terms of part-time jobs with utility, experiences relating to actual vocational preparation, and significant, engaging academic work) is lacking, adolescents are apt to demonstrate" . . . all the more fierce gang loyalty to their peers" (Goodman, 1960, p. 44).

Both Friedenberg and Goodman have made similar assumptions about human motivation; youth (by being human) are driven toward securing meaning, utility, integrity, competence, and the realization of their own potential. Society, by virtue ofbureaucracy efficiency, fear, and stupidity, has succeeded in thwarting youth. By dehumanization and violation of the conditions required for meaningful human existence, identity has been threatened. Goodman stated, "If there is nothing at all, when one does nothing, one is threatened by the question, is one nothing?" (1960, p. 41). The result is "alienation" (a term little used by either author), both from one's own integrity and identity and from those individuals and institutions which create the coercive conditions. Both spoke little about the peer culture, but it is reasonable to assume that both would view it as an age appropriate representation of dominant adult values. As it serves to operate against adults, it represents an inarticulate, lonely, and futile protest.

Unfortunately, it is incredibly difficult to subject these propositions to empirical test. Both Goodman and Friedenberg are part philosopher and part utopian and their conclusions are irrevocably tied to their assumptions about the quality of human drive. To find that the lesser the opportunity to invest "meaningfully," the greater the "alienation" merely demonstrates relationship and not cause. There is never a contemporary control group. Nonetheless, the contributions of both are exceedingly valuable and often run parallel to the hypotheses of sociologists described under the "changing social fabric" rubric.

A final position has come from individual psychology and is termed the "ego process" theory. For these observers, the youth culture offers a sort of "way-station," " . . . a temporary stop-over in which one can muster strength for the next harrowing stage on the trip" (Keniston, 1962, p. 161). It is a period of delay during which time a reorganization must be effected before adult responsibilities are assumed. The regnant functions of the organism are assaulted from within and without: full sexual drive is experienced, together with the demands for controlled release, impulse management, object choice, and re-evaluation of moral commitments; physical and intellectual growth have occurred thus requiring a re-assessment of "body image" and cognitive competency; with the development of capacity, emerges the necessity to make value choices regarding what it is that is worthwhile; the external world, on viewing the impending maturity of adolescents, exerts control on impulse and expects preparation for vocational achievement; by anticipating independence and judgment, it also serves as the principal agency which witholds the same, thus creating a task which requires delicate maneuvering on the part of the adolescent; subtly and gradually, the capacity for interpersonal relationships of depth which are characterized by mutuality and reciprocity has developed -- and with it the necessity to re-test and re-cast social relationships.

Such are the tasks of adolescence and it is the responsibility of the ego to secure synthesis and direction. "Achieving identity" is the term most often employed and, of the ego theorists, Erik Erikson has spoken most directly to the phase of adolescence:

> Identity is a term used in our day with faddish ease. At this point, I can only indicate how very complicated the whole matter is. For ego identity is partially conscious and largely unconscious. It is a psychological process reflecting social processes; but with sociological means it can be seen as a social process reflecting psychological processes; it meets its crisis in adolescence, but has grown throughout childhood and continues to re-emerge in the crisis of later years. The overriding meaning of it all, then, is the creation of a sense of sameness, a unity of personality now felt by the individual and recognized by others as having consistency in time -- of being, as it were, an irreversible historical fact (Erikson, 1962, p. 15).

Muuss, summarizing the Eriksonian view, stated:

> Pubescence, according to Erikson, is characterized by rapidity of body growth, genital maturity, and sexual awareness. Because the latter two aspects are qualitatively quite different from those experienced in earlier years, an element of discontinuity with previous development occurs during this period. Youth is confronted with a "physiological revolution" within himself that threatens his body image and his ego identity . . . .He becomes preoccupied with what he feels he is. Adolescence is the period during which a dominant positive ego identity is to be established (Muuss, 1962, p. 35).

Keniston, following Erikson's reasoning , summed it in these words:

> One of the main psychological functions of a sense of identity is to provide a sense of inner self-sameness and continuity, to bind together the past, the present, and the future into a coherent whole; and the first task of adolescence and early adulthood is the achievement of identity. The word "achieve" is crucial here, for identity is not simply given by the society in which the adolescent lives; in many cases and in varying degrees, he must make his own unique synthesis of the often incompatible models, identifications, and ideals offered by society. The more incompatible the components from which the sense of identity must be built and the more uncertain the future for which one attempts to achieve identity, the more difficult the task becomes (Keniston, 1962, p. 162).

The peer group and the youth culture provide the medium for securing identity. Because the adolescent must separate himself from the identities of his parents, he must reject their values and dictates. For "achieving" identity is an active process, rather than one of passive purchase of the achievements of others. Because society has been deficient in providing clear landmarks and in instutionalizing the steps to autonomy, the adolescent constitutes his own society. It is characteristically non-adult but, at the same moment, encourages conformity and stereotypy. By demanding this consensus, it provides its own tasks and landmarks and offers a useful series of demarcations on the path to identity or autonomy. Although a different master, the authority of peers, is constituted, this new master effects a break in the dependency relationship to parents. The youth culture also has its lawful season and must be abandoned as autonomy and self-direction evolve.

Each of the dimensions of the peer culture model can profitably be conceptualized within the ego identity theory. The tendency to idealize the "teen-age" years is clearly the attempt to forestall adult responsibility (to establish a "moratorium") during which synthesis may be achieved. A modicum of irresponsibility or playful provocation is permitted in order to test possible alternatives. Age-mates are billed as authorities and reference groups, not necessarily in the interest of abandoning adult values, but as a means of breaking with adult authority. Conflict may be the possible consequence; however, it may also be initiated by adolescents who are seeking to document their progress to autonomy or to wrest control more abruptly. This is often carried out in league with peers. The status seeking and rank ordering practices offer certainty as to position and self-definition during a time when these matters are ambiguous; in fact, the highly *social* nature of the youth culture permits it to serve as a constant mirror, feeding back data to the emergent and crystallizing identity. The subcultural symbols (language, music, *etc.*) allow protective coloration and temporary comfort to prevent identity diffusion, but also constitute visible and definite tasks. Stereotyping is useful, for if an adolescent cannot remain the child of his parents and is as yet, unable to be truly independent, he can hide within the conventions of his peers. By defining the modes of heterosexual relationship, the progress toward intimacy is made conspicuous and group controls assist in mastering impulse. Finally, participation in risk, danger, and physical activity, while possibly serving as sublimations for genital drive, have the function of permtting adolescents to test the limits of their maturing physical bodies.

Douvan and Adelson stated:

> During adolescence the child is in process of abandoning his dependence on parental standards and is trying to find his own. He looks to his peers for support and guidance. In rejecting one source of authority, the parent, he leans on an external agency. The dynamics of control remain the same. Indeed, when the child begins his commitment to peer opinion, he is liable to be in thrall more to it than he is to parents. He may conform to peer authority (in matters of taste and manners) so wholeheartedly as to give up momentarily, any will to select or differentiate on the basis of personal judgment. As he moves through a series of peer relations, each representing one more step away from the dependent bond to the parents, he gradually finds and absorbs standards suited to his own taste and circumstance, and so weans himself from a strict allegiance to external norms (Douvan & Adelson, 1966, pp. 199-200).
>
> The inherent tensions of adolescence are displaced to and discharged within the matrix of peer group sociability. Intrapsychically the defenses and character positions adopted are those which curtail experience and limit the growth and differentiation of the self -- repression, reaction-formation, and certain forms of ego restriction. These two modes of dealing with inner and outer experience join to produce a pseudo-adaptive solution of the adolescent crisis, marked by cognitive stereotypy, value stasis, and interpersonal conformity. It is a solution which is accomplished by resisting conflict, resisting change, resisting the transformation of the self. It settles for a modest resynthesis of the ego -- closely along the lines of the older organization of drives, defenses, values, and object attachments. It is characterized by an avoidance of identity-diffusion through identity-co-arctation (Douvan & Adelson, 1966, p. 353).

The four positions which have been set forth do not conflict as rival theories. In fact, they tend to be complementary. The sociological approaches have paid heed to industrialization, division of labor, the removal of the locus of production from the home and from the visibility of the young, and the growth of institutionalized education with its body of age-equals. These foregoing events have created need for new institutions or subcultures to assist in articulating the young to adult status. Ego process theories, using the concept of "identity," permit explanation of the psychological meanings of the youth culture, its manifestations, and its utility as a bridge from childhood to adulthood. For individual adolescents, it offers a viable account of growth or blockage, and for groups, it can predict change over time. The "market" and "threshold" theories are not first order, but contribute ancillary postulates. They do explain the homogeneity and uniformity but not the reason why it should occur. Finally, the "alienation" concept may add understanding regarding the intensity and difficulty of identity achievement in a world which increasingly dehumanizes and thwarts integrity.

The present study has attempted to push beyond previous research parameters. The issue of youth culture existence has been relegated to lesser status. Instead, there has been exacting effort toward defining those specific dimensions of the youth culture which are not shared by adults, toward charting the temporal ascendancy and decline of peer culture adherence, and toward analyzing its qualitative meaning to males and females of differing ages. There has also been effort to understand its pivotal role in promoting identity by examining the correlates of peer culture subscription. These issues have been considered as worthy of additional research: "In terms of a continuum, what are the dividing points between different systems of involvement in adolescent social systems?" (Gottlieb & Reeves, 1963, p. 74). Or, as Epperson stated, "We still need a conceptual scheme that takes into consideration, the multiple loyalties of the teen-ager and the relation of these loyalties to specific situations" (1964, p. 96).

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES AND PROCEDURES

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been derived from an examination of the research literature and the theoretical positions taken regarding the adolescent peer culture.

I. Hypotheses Investigating the Course and Nature of Peer Culture Dependency Relative to Age and Sex

These hypotheses extracted from the [illegible] theories test the notion that the adolescent peer culture is a developmental and temporal phenomenon serving psychological needs at one point in the life cycle. Also, the hypothesis is tested that the degree of adherenc varies between the sexes, with males more apt to manifest peer cultu dependency since the larger culture traditionally expects greater auto omy , independence, mastery, and self-sufficiency on the part of males (Goodman, 1956, p. 13).

A. It is hypothesized that peer dependency demonstrates a cyclical effect throughout the period of childhood and adolescence; within a high school sample, it ought to be in greater evidence in the early years, falling off as adulthood nears.

B. It is hypothesized that peer culture dependency is more pronounced among males than females.

II. Hypotheses Testing the Notion that the Adolescent Peer Culture Serves as a Substitute Vehicle in the Attainment of Autonomy and Independence

The following hypotheses test the relationship between peer dependency and the opportunity to attain independence and esteem by other less circuitous routes. In general, two hypotheses suggest task-oriented activities which might afford self-esteem and definite feed-back as to an adolescent's competence and progress on the path to maturity. As such, they are closely related to the propositions of the "alienation" theories which hold that the lack of opportunity is responsible for a youth culture (Goodman, 1960, p. 17).

A. It is hypothesized that lesser identification with the adolescent peer culture is positively related to greater investment in part-time and summer employment, or that those adolescents who work less will demonstrate greater adherence and valuing of the peer culture.

B. It is hypothesized that lesser identification with the adolescent peer culture is positively related to greater participation in school and community activities, or that those adolescents who participate less will demonstrate greater adherence and valuing of the peer culture.

C. It is hypothesized that higher academic achievement and aptitude are related to lesser identification with the peer culture, or, that those who have greater success and likelihood of success will demonstrate lesser adherence and valuing of the peer culture.

The interaction among hypotheses A, B, and C should be particularly interesting. Only A is strictly related to the "alienation" concept and if it alone is substantiated, then evidence exists for this argument. If B alone is substantiated, then it signifies that adolescence is truly a period of socialization since school activities are social in nature. Deprivation or lack of opportunity is actually *social* deprivation and leads to an overvaluing of the peer culture and its potential for identity synthesis. If A or C or both (without B) are substantiated, then the matter is confounded since a rival hypothesis could be entertained. The flight to the world of work or academic success (A and C) could be construed as "compensation" for the failure in the social tasks. Thus, the "brain" or scholar would devalue the peer culture by rationalization due to his own inability to succeed in this arena. The problem of interpreting causality from correlational measures is ever-present.

III. Hypotheses Testing the Relationship of Peer Dependency to Socioeconomic Variables

The following hypotheses test the effects of socioeconomic and setting variables on adherence to the adolescent peer culture. While the hypotheses tested in II are sensitive to variations within all environments according to task involvement, these hypotheses test the total effects of setting. If one or several of the hypotheses in II are substantiated, then the findings from III ought to determine whether environmental manipulation can alter the nature of the peer culture. In general, is the adolescent culture a product of individual psychological needs independent of the socioeconomic milieu in which it occurs, or may the environmental climate enhance or curtail it?

A. It is hypothesized that peer dependency is less in settings which offer greater provision for employment of adolescents.

B. It is hypothesized that peer dependency is greater in settings which prolong economic dependence by expectations of college attendance.

Hypothesis A is another attempt at verifying the Goodman propositions (1960, p. 17), while B assumes the "ego process" theory and would confirm certain of Coleman's (1961, pp. 76-80) findings.

The hypotheses and related questions were investigated *in situ* by questionnaire in high schools in five prototypical communities.

The Dependent Variable: Peer Culture Dependency

Research from the sociological frame of reference has generally refrained from securing measures of peer culture adherence for individual adolescents. Coleman derived value orientations for complete high schools and communities by submitting the following kind of item to boys (1961, p. 72):

> Among the items below, what does it take to get to be important and looked up to by the other fellows here at school? (Rank from 1 to 6).
>
> - Coming from the right family
> - Leader in activities
> - Having a nice car
> - High grades, honor roll
> - Being an athletic star
> - Being in the leading crowd

Upon securing mean ranks of items for each high school and analyzing the differences between schools, he made inferences as to value orientation.

Because measures of peer culture adherence were required for individual adolescents, a quite different tactic was employed in the present study. A careful analysis of the values and behaviors unique to the peer culture was undertaken and a conceptual model of the adolescent peer culture was constructed. Items were derived from the various model categories and assembled in a Likert attitude scale. Gathering items and estimates of homogeneity, reliability, and validity represented a principal facet of the present study and is included as Chapter IV. The "Peer Dependency Scale" allowed measures for each subject, and composite measures for subjects classified by sex, age, and setting.

"Peer dependency," then, was the dependent variable and fluctuations on this dimension were charted according to variation within each of the independent variables.

The Independent Variables

The principal independent variables were age (or grade in school), sex, part-time and summer employment, participation in school and community activities, academic achievement and academic aptitude, and certain community characteristics. The latter included family income level, provision for significant adolescent employment, and proportion of students likely to seek higher education. Community trait descriptions were drawn up and research was conducted in high schools which closely matched.

Age was secured by having students transcribe their dates of birth which were then converted to "age in months" at the time of questionnaire administration. Sex and grade were filled in by the subjects on the face sheet of the questionnaire. "Academic achievement" was represented as grade point average; in some cases it was available in the form of "print-out" from data processing systems and in other cases it was computed by school personnel or the project staff according to the standard formula. "Academic aptitude" was the intelligence quotient collected from cumulative folders. It was available for only a portion of the total sample, including most of the subjects in one high school and most of the seniors in two others; the California Test of Mental Maturity had been used in each situation.

Measures of part-time and summer employment were achieved by questionnaire. The following items were pre-tested, modified, pre-tested again, and included.

> If you have earned money by working outside the home during the past school year, please list the part-time jobs you have had (not including summer)(include such things as baby sitting, lawn jobs, work as a clerk, paper boy, farm work).
>
> JOB NUMBER OF MONTHS · HRS PER WK
>
> ____
> ____
> ____
> ____
> ____
> ____
> ____

A single index was derived from this item, "hours employed during current school year," which was computed by multiplying the number of months by four by hours per week. This item, was, of course, subject to all the vicussitudes of recall, inaccuracies of recording,and inaccuracies in estimating the average hours per week. Requiring that subjects itemize did increase the accuracy. Further checks were also made; no single job could have existed for longer than nine months (the questionnaire was administered in May), nor could the total hours have exceeded approximately 750 without seriously affecting school attendance. There were very few cases where totals were suspect and these were discarded. In the second pre-test, subject responses on employment items were followed by interviews. The data were similar, if not identical, and permitted the collection of these data by questionnaire.

An item assessing summer employment was also included. The index was "amount earned per summer," and was taken directly from the questionnaire. Similar limitations were inherent in this item and similar precautions were taken to enhance accuracy.

What summer jobs have you had? List the jobs you have had, if any, the average number of hours per week, and the approximate amount you earned each summer

SUMMER BEFORE 9 TH GRADE		SUMMER BEFORE 10TH GRADE	
JOB	HRS A WK	JOB	HRS A WK
	Total earnings_____		Total earnings_____

SUMMER BEFORE 11TH GRADE		SUMMER BEFORE 12TH GRADE	
JOB	HRS A WK	JOB	HRS A WK
	Total earnings_____		Total earnings_____

Several indices reflecting participation in school and community activities were also secured from two items included in the questionnaire. The items were pre-tested twice, revised, and compared with interview data to ensure adequate accuracy. The first item measuring principally school activities was as follows:

> List any activities (sports, clubs or activities, student government, committees, etc.) that you have taken part in *since you entered the 9th grade*:
>
> | ACTIVITY | GRADES | HOURS PER WEEK |
> |---|---|---|
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
>
> - add others on back of page if necessary.
> - circle the years in which you took part in each.
> - under the column "hours per week," estimate the average number hours per week that you spent in this activity *during the time you took part*.

A second item measuring predominantly community activities was as follows:

> List any community activities that you have taken part in since you entered the 9th grade (examples: Y Teens, Hi-Y, Tri-Hi-Y, hospital guilds or auxiliaries, Young Life, FFA, 4-H, Junior Achievement, church youth group, social clubs, Key Club, etc.) (Some of these may be school clubs and may be listed on the previous page.)
>
> | ACTIVITY | GRADES | HOURS PER WEEK |
> |---|---|---|
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
> | | 9 10 11 12 | |
>
> - add others on back of page if necessary.
> - circle the years you took part in each.
> - under the column "hours per week," estimate the average number hours per week that you spent in this activity *during the time you took part*.

The major index computed was "mean hours per week spent in activities." Originally it had been hoped to achieve separate measures of "task-oriented" activities (such as 4-H or Junior Achievement) and "social" activities (such as a dance committee). Pre-testing revealed that this distinction was unrealistic for two reasons: (1) the principal variabl was "participation;" those who participated extensively, did so in bot categories. There was very little one-sided emphasis, and (2) without knowing the specific climate and flavor of each and every activity it would have been impossible to classify. Even the most "task-oriented" activities had distinct social overtones, and the motives for individu adolescent participation would have been impossible to assess. In th large city high schools, the so-called "service clubs" were among th most intensely social of all, and provided clear status privileges. For similar reasons, the distinction between "school" and "community" activities was also abandoned, although the two items were kept separate in order to ensure coverage. The subjects themselves were unable t distinguish between what was "community" and what was "school," and any distinctions would have been arbitrary for the most part. Takin the YMCA clubs in some high schools as an example, it became clea that they were closely identified with the school, for they (1) met o school premises, (2) sometimes had teachers for "advisers," (3) contained only members from a single school, (4) often sponsored social events or service projects relevant to the student body, and (5) had definite status rankings within the social system of each school.

The index, "mean hours per week spent in activities," was computed in this fashion. The approximate duration of activities were gained through conversations with school personnel and a proportion representing the fraction of the school year involved was computed. The average hours per week was multiplied by this proportion which yielded the mean hours per week spent in this activity using the entire school year as a base. With sophomores, juniors, and seniors, the base was proportionately larger, depending on the number of years of high school attended. Using varsity football as an example, if a male subject listed ten hours per week spent in football activity (a figure typical for football and most other varsity athletics), this was divided by four (since football season typically lasted for one quarter of the school year), which yielded a mean of two and one-half hours per week. If the boy was senior and had played football only one year, this was once again divided by four, yielding a decimal .625 . Thus, .625 hours was the mean time spent in this activity per week in four years of high school. The same procedure was utilized for all activities not spanning an entire year (sports, school plays, musical concerts, etc.). The means for each activity were then totaled, and this figure was the "mean hours per week spent in activities" index. In interviews conducted in pre-testing, the items demonstrated that sufficient accuracy could be achieved using the questionnaire for appraisal.

A second index, "number of activities" was also computed; it was merely the total number of activities in which a subject took part. Although similar to the first index, the data were not altogether the same. If, for example, a subject belonged to a 4-H club, he might conceivably commit six to ten hours per week in this single activity. A subject taking part in a half a dozen activities at school might have a much lesser total number of hours. Hence, the first index was sensitive to the investment of time, while the second was sensitive to the diversity and number of investments. The two indices were obviously related as revealed by an r of .76 computed from the entire sample.

The data from these items were put to one additional use. Each subject was categorized as a "leader" or "non-leader" on the basis of these items and one asking subjects to indicate whether they had been "an officer, chairman or captain in any of the above activities." The two criteria were simple and arbitrary: the subject had to have been chosen by his peers to some one office or position in which he represented all of them, plus one additional office in which he could be representative of some special interest group. To qualify on the first criterion, the subject was eligible if he had been chosen as a room representative in student government, a class officer, a student body officer, a girls' club or boys' club officer, or a cheerleader. Qualification on the second criterion consisted of having one additional office similar to the first, or, having been chosen in some special interest group (e.g., secretary of a church group or captain of the football team).

Undeniably, these simple and objective criteria did not do justice to the complex issue of "leadership." Sociometric research and research in small group dynamics have revealed that many dimensions (some of which are highly specific to the individual situation) are involved in the choice of a "leader." Of the many possibilities, including sociometric tests, trait ratings, and reputation tests, the one chosen here appeare at least as "objective" as any other. In some respects, it was probabl more objective than Coleman's "leading crowd" (1961). Officers and representatives in student government and activities were obviously chosen on the basis of judgment, trust, and, probably, task leadershi To some extent, they not only reflected peer opinion, but also molded and directed it. On the other hand, such a choice must likely include an element of "popularity" and social acceptability. It is probable tha such dimensions are so intertwined as to defy any meaningful separati- The "halo effect" of these dimensions has been well documented, and, in one study, choice of the same individuals on both leadership and friendship criteria correlated at .80 (Burlingame, 1963, p. 109).

Population and Sample

The population included the entire student bodies of high schoo in five prototypical communities. Communities were selected in orde to offer variation on the following dimensions: (1) socioeconomic status, as reflected by income level and proportion of youth attending college, (2) opportunity for youth to be gainfully employed, particularly during summer vacations, and (3) a range of urban, suburban, and rural conditions. Community trait descriptions were the following: (1) *urban, lower-middle-class, lesser opportunity for employment*: an urban high school population located in a "central district" or older residential area of a major metropolitan area; the community was to be largely upper-lower-class ("blue collar," working class), with smaller proportions from the lower-middle and lower-lower-class levels. It was to be racially heterogeneous and to include some adolescents considered "culturally disadvantaged." (2) *urban* (or suburban), *upper-middle-class, variable opportunity for employment*: a high school whose population was largely upper-middle-class from professional families. A large proportion of these adolescents were to be college bound; education, income, and social class standing were to be highly esteemed. Opportunity for the employment of adolescents was to be variable since many would not need to work in order to obtain necessary commodities. (3) *small town, predominately middle-class, variable opportunity for employment*: The populace would include the full range of social classes and approximate a normal distribution with the heavier representation being middle class. Its economy would have been based on a single industry or few industries, or it could have served as a processing and service center for a surrounding region. In either event, the high school population was to be town-based rather than rural. In these characteristics, it was to be roughly prototypical of the hundreds of small towns (5,000 to 15,000 population) which are neither urban, suburban, nor strictly rural. (4) *rural, restricted social class, high opportunity for employment:* this prototype was the very small town with a sizable high school population coming from adjoining farms. Opportunity for at least seasonal employment was to be high. This restriction would have likely required a prosperous farming region where income level was similar to the upper-middle-class of the city.

The choice of communities with divergent socioeconomic characteristics was predicated on the findings of sociologists of the 1930's and 1940's whose work clearly revealed that social class differences (often based on economic variables) were instrumental in effecting value climates. The four settings were chosen to offer the fullest possible range of conditions. Unfortunately, a number of restrictions were placed on this mode of inquiry. No town or city could ever precisely replicate the prototype. Under and over-representation of income levels and social classes was bound to contaminate and dilute the dimensions. The characteristics themselves were not independent of one another (e.g. class level and opportunity for employment), so it was impossible to vary each of the dimensions systematically on the basis of a presence or absence criterion. Interpretation was thus confounded, and the straightforward analysis of variance technique was not particularly useful. Finally, and perhaps of greatest significance, was the possibility that peer culture dependency is not so much a function of these variables but a product of unique, idiomatic circumstances peculiar to each setting. In this case, the settings would vary but not due to the proposed factors. Interpretation needed be sensitive and tentative. The settings were definitely prototypes rather than cells of a table.

Riverside High School, located in a major West Coast city represented the *urban*, *upper-lower -class*, *lesser opportunity for employment* prototype. A school publication described Riverside in these terms:

> *Riverside* High School was constructed in 1922 to serve the community of _________ which joined the city of _________ after having existed as a separate incorporated city for 50 years. Situated at the confluence of the _______ and _______ Rivers, this north _______ area is an embryonic Pittsburgh of the West with awesome plans for industrial expansion in the future . . . .
> . . .
>
> The school service area is occasionally referred to as a "blue collar" neighborhood since most of the wage earners are employed as skilled or semi-skilled workmen. A city planning commission report of 1959 reveals a rather high level of home ownership . . . .
>
> Approximately 35% of the graduates now enter college. This number grows steadily as RHS enrolls more than any other high school in the newly established ______ Community College. Many *Riverside* students find it necessary to prepare for the workday world by gaining on-the-job experience. Many are employed by the Neighborhood Youth Corps. A large percentage gain confidence and skills in the distributive education program.

Much of the Riverside area was in transition. A goodly proportion of its housing units were quite dated and had declined in value to the point that they were owned by families of lesser means. Slightly less than 5% of the population was non-Caucasian. The area was not, however, characterized by extensive urban blight or decay. Dwelling units remained single family units, families were not particularly transitory, and home ownership was high. Riverside High School also included smaller proportions of upper-middle-class youngsters from neighborhoods which were near the perimeters of the service area. In comparison with the prototype, Riverside corresponded closely, with perhaps a slight bias in the direction of higher socioeconomic levels.

The urban, upper-middle-class prototype was Westside Heights High School, located in the same city as Riverside High School. Geographically, it lay near the western city limits in an area which was extensively developed following World War II. The following statistics were collected in a survey conducted in 1961. Some 17% of families had parents who were both college graduates, while 20% had at least one parent who had received an advanced degree. Roughly one-third of the families reported incomes between $5,000 and $10,000 per year, while another third earned incomes between $10,000 and $20,000. Parents in 96% of the cases owned or were purchasing their homes, while 13% had summer or vacation residences. As to car ownership, 57% of families had two cars, 7% had three cars, and 3% reported ownership of five cars. A desire to attend college was reflected by 94% of the students, while approximately 70% of the students enrolled in four year institutions.Additional statistics gave further evidence of the emphasis on higher education: some 58% of students report that they worry "a lot" about grades, and 36% of parents consider "C" to be a "poor" grade.

The physical plant was constructed in 1957 and provided an efficient, spacious, and attractive setting. In 1961, 51% of the faculty held advanced degrees; an atmosphere of intellectual intensity pervaded both students and faculty. It was significant that, of the five high schools which participated, the only adverse reaction to the present research from faculty or students, came from several faculty members at Westside Heights. The issue was one of "civil liberties."

The *small town, predominately middle-class* prototype was Seaview, population 5,074, located on the Northwest coastline of the United States. Settled in 1851, the town entertained early dreams of becoming the terminus for a major transcontinental railroad. A railroad company incorporated in 1887.

> Stimulated by the speculative fever, property values soared, population increased to 7,000, six banks did a rushing business, large office buildings were erected, and scores of homes went up almost overnight . . . . .disquieting whispers of impending failure of the company were confirmed . . . . . when it was learned that the company had gone into receivership. Real estate values fell, thousands of people deserted the town, and everyone knew the dream was over. A city with the facilities for a population of 20,000 soon had fewer than 2,000 (Washington Writers' Project, 1950).

A degree of stability had been achieved in more recent years, particularly with the location of a major pulp and paper plant in Seaview in 1927.

The community did suffer from all the liabilities inherent in a single industry town; and, the situation was aggravated as a consequence of the changing fortunes of industries which are dependent on lumbering. An informed observer in Seaview commented on the economy, stating that the "poverty pockets" which characterize larger cities did not exist in Seaview; rather the city and county had some 30% of its population existing at near minimal levels. This situation created a sort of "gray poverty" and chronic unemployment problem. The extension of farming and the increase of tourism had diversified the economic base to some extent. In comparison to the community trait description, Seaview was similar on most characteristics. Economic problems likely depressed income levels a bit below what might have been anticipated.

The final prototype was the rural town with restricted social class variation, and high opportunity for employment of adolescents. The trait description was met by two small communities located in the "Inland Empire" on the plateau between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascade Range.

Wheatland, population 1,010, was founded by settlers who recognized the potentialities of a nearby river for providing power for a flour mill:

> Situated in one of the most fertile farming regions in Washington, Wheatland today as in earlier years depends upon wheat for its income. Annually more than 1,000,000 bushels are shipped from town. Three flour mills are in operation,

> including the one established by ________ , which has been in continuous service since 1865 (Washington Writers' Project, 1950).

Large ranches predominated (a mean acreage of approximately 2000) and a generally high level of income was supported. Education was valued; of the farmers who were parents of children in the high school, all but two had attended college or vocational school. Of their children, approximately 65% went immediately to college. Bus transportation was provided for approximately one-third of the school population, although fewer required it since many high school students had their own cars.

Valley Center, with a population of 2, 913, was located a scant few miles from Wheatland and was generally similar in most characteristics. The town was platted in 1871.

> The town flourished. Situated at the intersection of stage routes, it profited from the transient trade of hundreds of men stampeding to the various mining districts. Additional impetus came from the discovery that the upper benchlands as well as the valleys were eminently suited to growing wheat. In 1875, it became the seat of Valley County. By 1880 Valley Center had a population of 6, 300. Then the wave began to recede: a series of fires, the coming of rail lines and the end of stage routes, the deflation of mining booms all contributed to the recession. Only agriculture continued to increase in importance (Washington Writers' Project, 1950).

In later years, in addition to wheat, large acreages were devoted to peas, livestock, other grains, fruit, and timber.

Valley Center High School served the entire county with some 30% of its student body living beyond the city limits. It also sent some 65% of graduating seniors on to college.

Both Wheatland and Valley Center were chosen on the basis of two characteristics: (1) an economic scene dominated by agriculture and a substantial high school population which actually resided on farms, and (2) the splendid possibilities for adolescents to earn large amounts of money.

Statistics gathered at the time of questionnaire administration bore out the suitability of these prototypical settings. Table VIII, Appendix A, provides employment data for each setting. The number of hours employed during the school year did not vary greatly from setting to setting (a range of sixty hours for boys, seventy hours for girls); the two rural settings tended to have slightly greater employment. Summer employment was quite another matter: Wheatland and Valley Center boys averaged approximately three times the earnings each summer from the ninth to the twelfth grade in comparison with other settings. In each case, Riverside boys earned the least. Girls' summer earnings were less variable; in seven cases of eight, Valley Center and Wheatland girls earned more, but the differences were much smaller than with boys. The earnings of Riverside girls were little different than those of Seaview or Westside Heights girls.

Intelligence quotients secured from group administrations of the California Test of Mental Maturity also offered interesting comparisons:

Group	Mean I. Q.
Seaview Males, 12th	103.77
Seaview Females, 12th	103.57
Riverside Males, 12th	102.52
Riverside Females, 12th	103.08
Westside Heights, Males, 12th	108.69
Westside Heights, Females, 12th	109.09

In seven of eight comparisons, there were significant differences (at the .05 level to the .001 level) in favor of Westside Heights adolescents.

Westside Heights adolescents also studied more (i.e., spent more hours on homework) than did children in the other settings (differences were significant at the .01 level), while Valley Center adolescents studied the least, followed by Riverside students (these differences did not attain significance; see Appendix A, Table IX). Although the choice of high school curriculum reflected the available alternatives, fewer Westside Heights males chose a vocational program. Similarly, significantly more Westside Heights students chose a college preparatory curriculum, and significantly fewer Riverside students chose the same (Appendix A, Table X). Graduating seniors were asked to list the college at which they had been accepted and planned to attend. Significantly more Westside Heights seniors planned to attend college (when compared to the mean of the remaining four schools):

Setting	Males	Females
Wheatland	57%	71%
Valley Center	66%	71%
Seaview	55%	50%
Riverside	62%	56%
Westside Heights	85%	87%

These sex and setting differences deserve some additional comment beyond the obvious differences due to setting. In the affluent rural schools (Wheatland and Valley Center), males were less apt to secure college education which was due, in large part, to the certainty of economic well-being following high school. In these same settings, girls could afford higher education and would likely have had lesser place in the community if they did not. In the two least affluent setting (Riverside and Seaview), boys were more apt to attend college in order to be assured of vocational success. A trend may have been defined: the greater the affluence, the more likely are girls to secure higher education, with the reverse occurring when economic levels approach minimum levels.

An item requesting subjects to estimate the proportion of colleg expense that they anticipated their parents providing, revealed that Westside Heights students expected significantly more (Table XI, Appendix A).

An index of mobility (and income) was obtained by asking subjecs to check whether they had ever visited several of the major cities of the nation. There was distinct tendency toward greater mobility as a setting became more cosmopolitan. However, there were also differences significant at the .001 level between Riverside and Westside Heights, with the latter subjects more likely to have travelled (Table XII, Appendix A).

In summary, these items have sustained the choice of settings. The two rural communities have provided much greater opportunity for adolescent employment, while there was less opportunity available for Riverside students. The differences between Riverside and Westside Heights were differences of income and social class status as revealed by college attendance, funds provided by parents for college attendance, mobility, academic aptitude, and amount of time spent on homework.

Administration

Questionnaires were administered to subjects in all five settings in May of 1966. The numbers of subjects by sex and setting were as follows:

Setting	Males	Females	Total
Wheatland	69	52	121
Valley Center	151	135	286
Seaview	195	205	400
Riverside	647	786	1433
Westside Heights	629	571	1200
Total	1691	1749	3440

The above figures represented almost the entire population of each high school in all cases but that of Westside Heights. Absences, classes and students not within the confines of the building on the day of administration, classes and individuls not conveniently available, and a number of invalidated questionnaires reduced the number somewhat from that of the total population. Due to flexible scheduling within Westside Heights High School, it was not possible to reach all students simultaneously; the entire freshman class and samples of the others were studied. The latter samples were not biased in any known fashion (intelligence, achievement, or curriculum). Questionnaires were administered simultaneously or during adjacent periods in order to rule out contamination from the contact of subjects who had responded to the questionnaire with those who had not. Questionnaires were self-administering and supervised by faculty members of the respective high schools.

The proportion of "spoiled" or invalidated questionnaires was 2.7% of the total. A questionnaire was considered invalid if (1) a subject had checked "not taking part" (subjects were offered the option of participation), (2) if a subject had not completed significant portions of the questionnaire, or (3) if the responses were obviously facetious. The greatest number of questionnaires was invalidated due to omission of a number of responses, as a consequence of fatigue, interruption, or the inability to complete items during the allotted time. An analysis by category and setting is provided in Table XIII, Appendix A.

The "Peer Dependency Scale" which is presented in the succeeding chapter provoked reaction on the part of several subjects. The gross generalizations and the request that subjects decide on questions of practice and belief for all adolescents caused several to write extended commentaries. Such responses to attitude scales are not unusual. The following were comments by one senior boy at Westside Heights High School:

> Most of the 50 questions in the first part are ridiculous. One cannot lump people together under the general names of "teen-agers" and "parents," for we are individuals, you know, and act differently . . . . Also, the test should have included more questions on a "higher" level, for there are many of us who spend practically no time thinking about cars, clothing, dating, popularity, etc., but prefer to concern ourselves with greater questions that deal with the very marrow of life and with our place in the universe.

According to the hypotheses of the study, this greater discernment and willingness to behave as an "individual" is more characteristic of later adolescence. It was not surprising to find that he had an intelligence quotient of 121 and a cumulative grade point average of 3.20. The search for individual meaning and fidelity has been well documented.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE

Constructing a Measure of Peer Dependency

From the outset, several assumptions were made in order that a measure of peer dependency could be constructed. Of primary importance were those considerations relative to the universality of the adolescent peer culture. For, if it did not exist with sufficient unanimity and consensus of value, then measurement would have been foolhardy and unreliable; if its existence could be accepted as a "given," then it was sound to proceed with the construction of items assuming that they were relevant, did represent meaningful issues, and were generally equivalent for most members of the population concerned. As previously cited, the weight of accumulated evidence from empirical investigation, as well as informed speculation, support the notion of a pervasive peer culture whose form is homogeneous throughout the country and whose theses are common and universally recognized although certainly not universally accepted. Secondly, if universality and equivalence of issues were accepted then the assessment of individual differences was warranted. Differences would represent divergence of values or practice rather than uncommon bases. In light of this, a peer dependency scale was constructed.

There was no attempt to demonstrate the independent existence of the adolescent culture nor to compare value loadings among the various segments of the total culture; these were tasks already accomplished, and it was upon these findings that the current research was based.

To derive items which purported to measure peer dependency, a conceptual model for the adolescent peer culture was organized from the abundant literature on the topic. The result has been a number of brief descriptive statements which highlight the essential themes, together with appropriate references to the research literature. A complete documentation would have been immense and far beyond present purposes, and so the evidence and its supporting rationale have been drawn from three primary sources which are representative, authoritative, recent, and theoretically divergent. They include Erikson, with a synthesis of psychoanalytic and socio-cultural postures, Coleman, a sociologist, who grounded his cultural and behavioristic conclusions in extensive research findings, and Douvan and Adelson who translated psychoanalytic formulations into research hypotheses and interpreted their findings with a mixture of psychoanalytic and socio-cultural constructs. Appropriate reference is also made to such other authorities as Parsons and Bettelheim wherever their contributions were significant.

It is appropriate to review briefly the place of the adolescent peer culture in a total developmental schema to ensure that the following model is consistent. As previously described, autonomy and independence are viewed as end states which distinguish maturity and adulthood from adolescence. Accepting the reasoning that the peer culture serves as a vehicle for effecting the transition of responsibility and authority from adults to a new generation of adults, then autonomy and independence are the heirs of the peer culture. To some extent, however, it is necessary to consider the society of peers as antithetical to autonomy, since it simply substitutes one master (parents and societal authority) for another (age-mates). Nevertheless, the shift of master is an essential prior step to the lodging of responsibility within the ego of the new adult. The following model, then, emphasizes the independent existence of the society of age-mates, its potential for dictating behavior and belief, and its tendency to conflict with adults and adult institutions. In a total sense, these constructs reflect adolescents' investment, adherence, and commitment to the society of their peers and its culture.

A Model for the Adolescent Peer Culture

I. Construing the Peer Culture as Possessing Independent Cultural Existence and Serving as a Legitimate Locus for Value Choice

The presence of this attitude among adults and adolescents underscores a general cultural recognition of the adolescent peer culture as distinct and separate and as a valued reference point for decision making on the part of adolescents. It emphasizes the discontinuity with other generations and qualities of uniqueness and desirability when applied to itself. Childhood is disdained, the responsibilities of adulthood are abstained from, and age is the primary criterion for providing distinction. While strikingly evident among adolescents, the larger society is also contributory to these beliefs. Probably it is no accident that romantic literature has idealized youth to the extent that "youth" and "beauty" have been seen as virtually synonymous. The companion belief is that youth exists for its own ends, but will inevitably be corrupted and destroyed by age and experience. The underlying mechanisms for these projections of adults suggest a quality of world-weariness and disappointment as the ambitions and illusions of youth meet environmental reality. In recent times this has been borne out by the somewhat regressive actions of adults who adopt portions of teen-age culture, including music, dance, and style of clothing. Perhaps youth is emulated in the hope that physical youth and vitality might be restored; at any rate, this has been the message of much current advertising. The growing societal practice of defining adolescence as a separate developmental entity is also attested to by the tendency of adolescents and adults alike to invoke such terms as "teen-age," "youthese," and "teen-dom" to describe and, more importantly, to justify behavior.

Social scientists and others have not been loath to recognize a subculture of adolescents. As early as 1942, Parsons (1958, p. 193) applied the term "youth culture" and attributed to it similar qualities as those described in subsequent sections of this statement. Much more recently, Keniston argued that the youth culture is not simply transitional between childhood and adulthood but truly independent:

> For the essence of the youth culture is that it is not a rational transitional period -- were it one, it would simply combine the values of both childhood and adulthood. Instead, it has roles, values, and ways of behaving all its own (Keniston, 1962, p. 161).

In comparing the youth culture to politically oriented youth groups, Eisenstadt spoke directly to the thesis of the present discussion:

> Parallel developments are to be found in the ideologies of modern youth groups. Most of these tend to create an ideology that emphasizes the discontinuity between youth and adulthood and the uniqueness of the youth period as the purest embodiment of ultimate social and cultural values. Although the explicitness of this ideology varies in extent from one society to another, its basic elements are prevalent in almost all modern youth groups (Eisenstadt, 1962, p. 39).

Naegele summed the observations regarding the tendency to glorify and idealize youth in these words:

> In a complex way, we may still believe that "youth should not be spoiled by old age, " but we certainly do not believe that "the best gift of the ageless gods is to snatch it away." Instead, we hope that we shall persist in achieving, but that in doing so our age will now show, and that our youths will do likewise (Naegele, 1962, p. 65).

Much empirical evidence could be brought to bear in demonstrating the reliance of adolescents on the youth culture and peer group as a reference group for decision making. Perhaps it is sufficient to cite some recent research by Coleman (1961, pp. 5, 6, 140). When he asked adolescents to decide whose disapproval would be most difficult to accept (teachers', parents', or friends'), he found an even split between parent and friend, with teacher accounting for a very small proportion. This was rather startling considering that all subjects were secondary school students and, for the most part, resided in the parental home. Of even greater significance was the discovery that members of the "leading crowds" (i.e., the social elite) were significantly more inclined to regard peer disapproval as more difficult to accept. Thus, those who were considered leaders and pace-setters were oriented toward peers to even greater extent. Other comparisons revealed a similar trend.

Typical items designed to measure the above dimension ought to permit the expression of attitudes regarding the existence of "teen-agery," the resistance to taking on the responsibilities of the adult world, the discontinuity with the preoccupations of childhood, and the tendency to view adolescence as "the best years of our lives." Further, items should present subjects with the opportunity to label adolescent wisdom as "true" and valid when contrasted with the advice of adults.

II. Subscription or Adherence to the Codes, Practices, and Attitudes of the Peer Group and Peer Culture: the Willingness to Adopt These Customs and Values

Membership in any culture or social group requires conformity in certain signal aspects of behavior. These constitute a badge of admission, the assurance to others that a member is truly "one of us," and offer a common base for shared activity; increasing deviation by any individual brings pressure from the larger group until, in the case of excess, a member is expelled and viewed as an outsider. These general principles of cultural and group dynamics apply and serve to offer a uniformity of value base to the adolescent peer culture. Whether the peer culture values are but extensions of prevailing middle class culture, or operate in the ambiguous and irrelevant vacuums of middle class value structure, or are truly divergent and in conflict with the prevailing society, is of lesser consequence. What does matter is the specific nature of these shared bases for judgment called "values."

The following consist of the most common and universal values which are generally independent of social class variables and geographical location.

A low order commonality is the preference for peer group association in contrast to solitary activity. The proliferation of group activity , whether formal or loose, whether purposeful or seemingly random, is a notable characteristic to adult observers. An abundance of research has pointed to the prevalence of shared activity, and Coleman's study (1961, p. 12-13) is representative. On being asked to list their favorite way of spending leisure time, more than 80% of high school students listed choices which were distinct peer group activities. Included were such items as "organized outdoor sports" (boys: 22%) and "being with the group" (girls" 32.5%).

Of somewhat greater specificity is the respect and esteem held toward certain subcultural trademarks, including approved music, dance, idiosyncratic language, modes of personal adornment, and means of transportation. Since these expressions are particularly conspicuous, they serve not only to differentiate teen-agers from others, but offer visible means of identifying adolescents of kindred sentiment. Of all the characteristics of the youth culture, these alone demonstrate the greatest flux or change; the general means remains similar, but, as in dancing, the specific esteemed style may change several times in a particular year. Finally, there exists a clear expectation that these customs be followed if one is to opt membership.

Since the mode remains constant, but the style changes frequently (and with geographical variations) these aspects have been less well investigated in formal research. Studying the then current styles of popular music, Coleman (1961, p. 23) discovered near universal agreement as to its acceptance. With popular music, two forms (of six) accounted for 70% of the preferred choice; three vocalists accounted for 70% of the favored choice; "rock and roll" music (the most distinctive cult music) received 50% of the total choice. Dance, idiosyncratic language, dress, and hair style are less well documented, but equally powerful. It remains for such popular publications as Esquire (Wylie, Corso, and Glaser, 1965) to describe current modes, although most authorities agree as to their function and significance. The automobile, however, has been subject to greater evaluation. Access to transportation is particularly crucial to adolescents inasmuch as it offers independence mobility, and greater opportunity for heterosexual contact. Coleman (1961, p. 25) found considerable variation in car ownership among senio boys depending upon social class and geographic variables. Except among the boys residing in a major metropolitan center where ownership was low (17.5%), all settings revealed ownership at levels between 40% and 80%. The fact that social elites were more likely to own automobiles led Coleman to interpret that car ownership contributed to social status (1961, p. 128).

Authorities tended to agree as to the importance and predominance of the above subcultural trademarks, but it is more difficult to account for the choice of these symbols as opposed to others. In some cases, the obvious functional utility is significant (the automobile), and all offer the attributes of conspicuousness and visibility. The continuous change of style implies the need to offer additional modes for individual expression and adherence within the culture. "Fads" do become important and the refusal to accept them may be sufficient for group exclusion; but few authorities have explained the need for continuous change. On the other hand, some have offered explanations for the mode of expression. Erikson, for example, held that the vigorous adolescent music and dance, the over-evaluation of automobiles, and the intense involvement in athletics serve as outlets for genital potency and locomotor maturity:

> The most widespread expression of the discontented search of youth is the craving for locomotion, whether expressed in a general "being on the go," "tearing after something," or "running around;" or in locomotion proper, as in vigorous work, in absorbing sports, in rapt dancing, in shiftless *Wandershaft*, and in the employment and misuse of speedy animals and machines (Erikson, 1962, p. 13).

Concern with styles of personal adornment (hair and dress) were noted by Douvan and Adelson (1966, pp. 180-181) and labeled as evidence of adolescent narcissism which is often associated with excruciating self-consciousness.

In summary, the following conclusions are warranted: (1) in some cases, these symbols have a functional utility of their own; it is likely that they all have a particular psychological meaning for adolescents which may run far deeper than simple utility, (2) the approved mode shifts frequently and acceptance and promotion of the current style is a badge of admission and a route to status in the peer group and culture, and (3) their universal importance permits use in a scale measuring "peer dependency."

Beyond the acceptance of peer culture symbols rest higher order values which are somewhat more compelling if not actually coercive. One of these is the acceptance of, and participation in, social rating and rank ordering practices, including the importance of achieving group status or what is commonly called "popularity." The drive for social esteem is well recognized by observers of adolescents; the following statement is typical of social scientists who write to this issue:

> So large a segment of adolescent life consists of social activities that many young folks worry about their success in this sphere. In surveys designed to discover the problems of high school students, almost always the item mentioned most frequently is shyness, inability to talk to people, or some similar difficulty. Adolescents yearn for popularity or for the comfort of human companionship (Wattenberg, 1955, p. 90).

Recent evidence was provided by Coleman (1961, p. 30). When offered a choice as to how they would care to be remembered at school, 25% of boys and 35% of girls chose "most popular." Equally revealing was the "best athlete" choice of 44% of boys and "leader in activities" by 36% of girls. These latter activities are usually construed as direct paths to group esteem. The "dating-rating complex" observed by sociologists is a further manifestation of the same trend, wherein esteem is accorded dependent on the prestige of the dating partner.

In general, this dimension includes the following practices within the peer culture code: seeking group esteem via display of the subcultural symbols (above); seeking esteem by success in various of the approved routes to popularity (below); arranging social groups, commonly called "cliques," into status hierarchies within the social system; attributing status rankings to individuals dependent upon the reputation of the group to which they belong (Hollingshead, 1949); valuing membership or association with groups (or individuals) of higher esteem.

Various theoretical explanations have been offered to account for the relatively greater concern about status among adolescents. In his psychosocial model of development, Erikson (Witmer and Kotinsky, 1956, p. 8) considered it a revival of the conflicts between "self-certainty" and "identity consciousness," and "identity" and "identity confusion." The former pair describe " . . . a preoccupation with discrepancies between the self-image (or images) and one's appearance in the eyes of others" (Witmer and Kotinsky, 1956, p. 8), while the latter constitute the whole task of adolescence, i.e., binding together past, present, and future into some coherent whole under the auspices of the ego. Both imply a discontinuity with the past and the necessity of re-establishing an accurate self-appraisal. These tasks are accomplished in a social testing ground (the peer group) where there are constant bases for evaluation, and where comfort may be achieved by clear knowledge of one's status ranking. The peer group offers the opportunity for status achievement, as well as the reflected appraisals of others, and, hence, the opportunity for accurate self-perception. Douvan and Adelson (1966, p. 201) agreed with the above generalizations but added their own interpretation to the oft-noted greater concern of girls around issues of popularity. For boys, the greater need is support in the quest for autonomy and mastery, whereas girls seek support and intimacy out of narcissistic needs.

Above the simple recognition of the benefits of social status is a higher level of peer culture commitment including acceptance of, adherence to, or valuing of, the modes for achieving esteem, recognition, and social status. Among these are: athletic prowess for boys;

physical beauty and participation in activities for girls; seeking risk, stimulation, action, and excitement; a non-scholarly orientation; non-alliance with adults and authority; heterosexual interest.

Of all the routes to peer group adulation none is so clearly evident as athletics for the young male. Over the past half century studies have consistently found athletic success to be most strongly linked with social acceptance. For example, in his study of the clique structure in five high schools, Coleman (1961, p. 194) found that each of the members of the leading freshman clique played either football or basketball. Similarly, almost 50% of high school boys would prefer to be remembered as "athletic star" in preference to "brilliant student" or "most popular," and the desire to be a "nationally famous athlete" led a field of four possibilities (Coleman, 1961, p. 30). For girls, the attributes analogous to athletic ability appear to be a cluster of qualities best labeled as "glamor" or physical beauty, and participation in school activities. It is not surprising to find that the single female role equivalent to athletic star is that of cheerleader (Coleman, 1961, p. 48). The psychological meaning of athletics for boys is surely complex. It possibly involves a number of factors, including: an avenue for the sublimation of sexual energy; an opportunity to test and define the limits of a maturing physical body; an arena for testing and proving masculinity; a route to social esteem (Witmer and Kotinsky, 1950, p. 13; Wattenberg, 1955, pp. 126-127).

The willingness to undertake activities where there is risk or limited danger, stimulation, action, and excitement has often been attributed to the youth culture. By the same token, the ambiguous nature of this practice has made it difficult to assess. Kuhlen and Lee (1943) found that the trait "willing to take a chance" significantly distinguished between popular and unpopular groups of boys and girls at sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade levels. Much later, Coleman (1961, p. 124) found that 30% of boys and 24% of girls checked the item "stirring up a little excitement, " as a trait relevant to acceptance within their group. Of more importance was the discovery that boys in the social elites, those most often named as "friends, " and those most often named as someone to emulate, checked this item more often than did other boys. That these are attributes associated with the peer culture, and particularly with those who excel within it, is more easily established than are the motivations which run beneath. Erikson's concept (Witmer and Kotinsky, 1956, p. 4) " psychosocial moratorium, " appears to apply, wherein society has established a period of time following childhood and preceding adulthood, when responsibility is suspended and youth are permitted to engage in "provocative playfulness." The moratorium allows time to regroup ego forces, re-integrate the past, and test the capacities of the new mind and body. This requires that youth test limits to determine what it is that they can and cannot achieve, as well as what is worth achieving and striving for; it becomes evident that this testing will involve danger and risk.

> The choice can be dangerous, but to some youths the danger is a necessary ingredient of the experiment. Elemental things are dangerous; and if youth could not overcommit itself to danger, it could not commit itself to the survival of genuine values -- one of the primary steering mechanisms of psychosocial evolution (Erikson, 1962, p.17).

The reliance upon scholastic achievement as a single avenue of achievement appears to relate negatively to peer acceptance and runs counter to youth culture values. It may not be that the culture is hostile to academics, as much as it is that this route rules out other avenues which are approved. Sole reliance on study and school achievement suggests the "bookworm" "brain," or "teacher's pet" stereotypes which effectively eliminate the esteemed athletic orientation (for boys) and the willingness to participate in danger and risk. Even more, it implies acceptance of the adult order and securing adult esteem without any corresponding attention to peers. This interpretation is more liberal, but consistent with Coleman (1961, pp. 244-245) who viewed the peer culture as actively non-scholastic. Coleman's evidence (1961, pp. 31, 41, 148) again and again demonstrated the disadvantages of scholarly achievement as a single path to popularity, to acceptance by the opposite sex, and to being chosen for friendship. In summary, he cited Tannenbaum (Coleman, 1961, pp. 309-310) who devised descriptions of fictitious students who exhibited three attributes, ability (brilliant or average), scholastic effort (studious or non-studious), and "sportsmindedness" (athletic or non-athletic).

Tannenbaum's characters were then submitted to adolescents for rating. Coleman described his findings as follows:

> The results are striking. The four top characters are athletes; studious characters occupy positions as low as possible consistent with the dominance of athletics at the top. That is, being an athlete is important enough so that a studious athlete is higher than a non-studious non-athlete. Within the four athletes in the top ranks, and within the four non-athletes in the bottom ranks, the studious students sink to the bottom. Brilliance is scattered over all ranks: the top-ranked character is the brilliant non-studious athlete, and the bottom one the brilliant studious non-athlete. In these data, brilliance hurts a boy's status only if he is studious as well (Coleman, 1961, p. 310).

Increasing heterosexual interest and activity are prevalent in adolescence but their genesis, of course, is independent of the peer group and culture; nonetheless, the nature of heterosexual activity is mightily affected and influenced by the dictates of the youth culture. One might predict that previously cited practices would offer prescriptions for dating. Thus, the concern with status has led to the "dating-rating" practice where the choice of companion has an effect on social standing. Esteem is attached to those who are successful with the opposite sex in the same fashion as esteem accrues to those who are liked by peers in general. Similarly, the degrees of intimacy and relationship between couples have been made visible and are communicated by the unique symbols of the culture. Such terms is "going-steady" or "steadily" have had near universal meaning. In the Kuhlen and Lee study (1943), the trait "likes the opposite sex" significantly distinguished between popular and unpopular groups of boys and girls at sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade levels. Coleman (1961, p. 150) constituted a group of "ladies' men," i.e., those labeled by others as most popular with girls. In general, they were esteemed and closely approached the high status level of the athletes. It was an attribute which might provide entry into the leading crowd, or lead others to seek their friendship, or lead others to nominate them as exemplars.

III. Alienation and Conflict Between Generations

This general category contains a cluster of attitudes which underscores the separation, the mutual lack of understanding, the mutual antipathy between generations, and the consequent predisposition of adolescents to withdraw allegiance from adults and societal institutions. At its most benign level, it includes the adolescent seeking of adult prerogatives and privileges (without the implication of responsibility) which are denied. At a second level of intensity, it consequently includes an overt and recognized hiatus between generations, emphasizing such qualities as alienation, separation, the inability to communicate, and the lack of mutual basis for understanding. A further step is to acknowledge the previous, and develop a mild but critical attitude toward the practices of adults and societal institutions, with the occasional implication that these do not serve as models worthy of emulation. The projection mechanism may define another level in which adults are construed as possessing hostile and depreciating motives toward adolescents. With the acceptance of the foregoing, adolescents may take a final step in which they deny allegiance, responsibility,duty, and obedience to parents, adults, and family. Neither this portion of the model (nor any other portion) intends to suggest that these motives are present in all adolescents. They do, however, exist as issues and trends within the peer culture. Most certainly there is not the wholesale acceptance of adults as seen in pre-adolescence (Gesell, Ilg, and Ames, 1956).

The generally accepted dynamic which accounts for III is very close to the one used to explain the existence of the total peer culture. In their progress toward autonomy and self-directiveness, adolescents break with the authority of the parental home and constitute a new authority, the peer culture. The new attitudes, themselves, differ to limited extent and set up a reasonable basis for conflict. Secondly, the very fact that adolescents may attempt to shift reference groups while still dependent and living in the parental home adds intensity in the proportion that parents resist. The evidence of separation between generations is multitudinous and has been cited elsewhere. It remains to offer some additional elaboration upon the general explanation. In speaking of the youth culture, Keniston observed:

> Instead it has roles, values, and ways of behaving all its own; it emphasizes disengagement from adult values, sexual attractiveness, daring, immediate pleasure, and comradeship

> in a way that is true neither of childhood nor adulthood. The youth culture is not always or explicitly anti-adult, but it is belligerently non-adult (Keniston, 1962, p. 161).

Erikson has viewed adolescence as a period of identify-seeking. In order to gain fidelity and purpose (to achieve identity) the adolescent may need to resist other interpretations of the environment until he can formulate his own:

> Psychosocially speaking, this would mean that irreversible childhood identifications would deprive an individual of an identity of his own; historically, that invested powers should prevent a group from realizing its composite historical identity. For these reasons youth often rejects parents and authorities and wishes to belittle them as inconsequential (Erikson, 1962, p. 16).

There are those who have suggested that in order to secure some estimate of their own autonomy and progress toward independence, adolescents frequently test and push authority to its limits. Bettelheim stated:

> As one delinquent youngster complained, "You can't live, if there's nothing to push against." What he meant is that you cannot test your own worth, your own strength and vitality, the very things you feel most dubious about as an adolescent, when all you can push against is a vacuum, or an adult society more than ready to give way, to act more youthful than befits youth (Bettelheim, 1962, p. 82).

Finally, some authorities and social critics, particularly Goodman (1956) and Friedenberg (1959), insist that society does possess hostile motives toward youth, either as a consequence of changing and inappropriate social conditions within which adolescents must mature, or because youths awaken unresolved conflicts in adults. If this is the case, then the conflict may be generated in part by adult society and reflected as a separation between generations.

It was from this model that items were derived.

Scaling and Scoring Conventions

An attitude scale contains statements (items) to which subjects respond in terms of agreement or disagreement. Individual item responses are converted and summed in such a way that high scores represent more of the entity or construct being measured, and low scores, less. From the several methods of attitude scaling, the investigator elected to follow the procedures and rationale of Adorno *et al.* in their studies of "authoritarianism" (Adorno, *et al.*, 1950). It was not so much that the latter had developed novel methods, but rather that they had rigorously and painstakingly applied various traditional procedures in deriving, validating, and achieving reliability on new attitude scales. Their work stands as a classic and offers firm guidelines which eliminate many of the theoretical and statistical pitfalls inherent in attitude scale construction.

Consistent with Adorno (1950, pp. 58-59), the Likert method of scaling[1] was adopted for the following reasons: (1) with fewer items, it yields maximum discrimination, (2) it possesses greater efficiency and ease of construction, and (3) its reliabilities are equally high and its results are generally comparable with other methods. Three degrees of agreement or disagreement were permitted: slight, moderate, and strong ("strongly agree," "agree of the whole," "agree a little"). It appeared as if three degrees of agreement and disagreement would provide for maximum discriminatiin without forcing minute attitudinal distinctions which had no independent existence in the subjects' belief systems. The data demonstrated that all six response categories were extensively used. The middle value, that is, the "neutral" attitude as often expressed by "don't know" or "no opinion" categories, was not included. The use of such a neutral category is theoretically questionable since it does not measure ambivalence or some quantitative middle position between agree and disagree. Instead, it suggests qualitative differences with implications of disinterest and irrelevance. Further, when included as a category it has often been the most frequent choice. In its absence, the subject must choose in either a positive or negative direction, although the "agree a little" and "disagree a little" categories permit him to remain less than fully committed. His other alternative is to omit the item (as occasionally occurred)(Adorno et al., 1950, p. 71; Woodworth, 1938). Subject responses were then converted into scores for each item and these scores were summed to gain a total "peer dependency" score.

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[1] The Likert method of attitude scaling is one of several current techniques. In general, it offers a statement to which subjects may respond on the continuum from "agree" to "disagree."

Within the six response categories, subjects marked relative agreement by choosing +1, +2, or +3, and disagreement by -1, -2, or -3. To secure positive item scores, the responses were converted according to the following system:

+3 = 7 points
+2 = 6 points
+1 = 5 points
-1 = 3 points
-2 = 2 points
-3 = 1 point

The neutral category which was omitted previously was also omitted from scoring, and the scoring formula moved from five points to three points. The rationale of Adorno *et al.*, held that greater psychological distance exists between "agree a little" and "disagree a little" than between any other two adjacent responses. Furthermore, it offers considerable technical advantage for the scoring of omitted items. Items which were omitted either by oversight or the refusal to choose were allotted four points in the hypothetical neutral category (Adorno, *et al.*, 1950, pp. 71-72).

Considerations in Item Formulation

The intent, of course, was to develop items which measured adherence to the values and practices of the youth culture. Thus, items needed to describe concrete human situations that would reflect the prevalent forms in which peer culture values are manifest. Despite the specificity of the model and its discrete categories, no attempt was made to develop sub-scales or to assess peer culture components as if they existed independently of a total or generalized predisposition to respond in a particular direction. The purpose of the model was simply to guarantee systematic and comprehensive coverage. Obviously, there was considerable content overlap among categories of the model. Also, there surely were alternate forms which a model might have taken.

Of the 100 items which constituted the Uplands Form of the PD Scale, seventy-six were stated in the positive, so that agreement yielded greater adherence to youth culture values. By perusing the items, it becomes apparent that agreement operates against many of the principles which are subscribed to, or, at the least, given lip service in American middle-class society. In order to agree, subjects had to minimize the ideal in favor of the material, the legal in favor of the illegal, individual responsibility in favor of conformity to the mass, social justice and equality in favor of individual gain, worthwhile individual achievement in favor of group esteem, and integrity in favor of compromise with principle. By stating propositions in this direction, the so-called "social desirability" response set was minimized. Extensive research conducted on personality tests has revealed that subjects may respond out of social expectancy rather than reporting personal characteristics (Block, 1965). Framing items against the usual social conventions represented the attempt to deal with this troublesome issue. On the other hand, it could be argued that "social desirability" for adolescents is this divergent set of conventions contained in the items, and, if this were the case, then the problem was not eliminated. Such an argument must be discounted, however, on the obvious basis that agreement with a rival set of values (and labeling it response on the basis of "social desirability") is essentially the same as adherence to the youth culture. Social desirability cannot be a major issue, for the PD Scale, in one sense, purported to measure this very dimension.

A second response set, "acquiescence," was also considered. This is the predisposition for subjects to respond consistently (agreeing or disagreeing), but mechanically, without due regard for the content of individual items. In order to secure some estimate of the effects of this response set, as well as to force subjects to attend carefully to each item, twenty-four items were introduced which stated the negative position. That is, in order to respond consistently in the direction of adherence to the peer culture (or non-adherence), subjects had to disagree with the item (or agree). By reversing the scoring system and applying techniques of item analysis, it was possible to assess the degree to which this response set was operative. The mean Discriminatory Power (the difference between item mean for the upper quartile group and lower quartile group) of these negative items was 1.14, while the mean Discriminatory Power for the remainder of the items was 1.66. Superficially, it appeared as if this response set was operating at a minimal level. However, since a Discriminatory Power of 1.00 is statistically significant in distinguishing between items which effectively discriminate and those which do not, these items were viewed as statistically effective but not to the same extent as the remainder (Adorno, et al., 1950, p. 80). Measuring the acquiescent response set in this manner does assume equivalence of items, and there were no means of independently evaluating this factor. The only items which yielded negative Discriminatory Powers (that is, the high scorers had item means lower than the low scorers) were phrased negatively. For these two items there was strong reason to suspect defects within item content rather than the existence of a response set. In addition, several of the most powerful items were phrased negatively.

There were other reasons to consider items phrased negatively and against adherence to the peer culture. Since the public secondary schools were the settings for research, potential negative public response to the entire project was considered. In the months preceding the present investigation, one piece of graduate research and an incident regarding psychological testing in the schools had alerted and alarmed the entire area. School superintendents became quite wary of psychological research and self-appointed citizens were raising issues concerning the rights of school children. A portion of the youth culture's value system directly raised the question of youths' responsibility to adults, and, unfortunately, those very items which had greatest promise were likely to be most controversial. To avoid diluting the strength of items such as " . . . what parents don't know won't hurt them, " they were countered with negatively phrased items like, "Parents should be more strict with their children." The net effect of both items was similar as long as the latter was scored in reverse. Other precautions were also taken. The items were described as quotations of teen-agers, parents, teachers, judges, and youth workers, which were found in national magazines and newspapers (this was accurate for the most part). Item content was often introduced by a phrase such as "One teen-ager said . . . ," or "PTA Magazine said . . . ." Even so, the attempt to reduce the potentially objectionable nature of the items was not entirely successful.

The above practices also aided substantially in contributing to the plausibility of the PD Scale. If subjects could believe that they were responding to statements made about them by others instead of subjecting their own belief systems to analysis, there seemed to be greater likelihood of honest response. In addition, many items were phrased tentatively to permit maximum ambiguity and individual interpretation by using such qualifying or conditional terms as "probably," "seems," "may," "most" (rather than "all"), and "usually." Other more controversial items were stated very emphatically. Nonetheless, items usually appeared as the gross generalizations which are characteristic of attitude scales.

Procedures in Item Formulation: the Uplands Form

Using the conceptual model, the investigator and students in his psychology of adolescence classes derived some 500 possible items. When culled for overlap, non-universality of content, limited temporal utility, and the obvious lack of face validity, the number was reduced to 125 items. These items were then submitted to ten adolescents for discussion and evaluation. Items which were so ambiguous as to permit entirely individualistic interpretations of content were deleted and the item count was reduced to 100. This scale was then administered to adolescents for purposes of statistical analysis; the 100 item scale was entitled the Uplands Form after the community in which it was administered and is included in its entirety in Appendix B.

Uplands High School is located in a community of 2008 population which is adjacent to a major metropolitan center. Although the incorporated area was relatively small, the high school contained approximately 1000 students and drew not only from the town itself but from the entire school district. The most desirable feature in view of securing representativeness was the heterogeneity of population. The Uplands School District included sectors of small town, surburban, and rural populace, whose income levels ranged from those which supported relative affluence to economic hardship. The principal demographic groups which went unrepresented were the urban poor and urban middle-class. A population of 400 students was secured which consisted of 100 from each grade and fifty males and fifty females within each grade. The original hypotheses proposed that sex and age were variables which affected adherence to the youth culture and if these were substantiated, then this broad, inclusive sample was certain to reduce the power of items in discriminating. Selecting a sample of 100 fifteen year old boys would likely have provided more clear-cut and distinctive statistics by which to judge items. Nevertheless, it was necessary to obtain data which permitted inclusion of items relevant to the entire of the adolescent population, and so, care was taken to hold age and sex variables constant. The sample was also taken to ensure randomness on other variables such as intelligence and achievement.

Item Analysis of the Uplands Form

A statistical analysis of the Uplands Form of the Peer Dependency Scale provided the first opportunity to judge its effectiveness and, indeed, the general validity of the conceptual model and the existence of a peer culture which might be measured by this technique. Using conversion procedures and summing for a total score, subjects were found to distribute themselves along the dimensions of a normal curve. The highest possible score was 700 (100 items worth seven points each) while the lowest possible score was 100 (100 items worth one point each). Of the 398 subjects at Uplands High School, the high score was 571, and the low score 224, with a mean score of 388. Interestingly enough, the mean item score (3.88) was only .12 below the theoretical neutral point of 4.00. The most pressing concern was to increase the power of the scale by removing items which did not contribute usefully to the total, either because they were responded to divergently in comparison with other items, or because they added minimally to the total. A usual statistical technique employed to determine item power is the coefficient of correlation (r between item and total). The "Discriminatory Power" technique developed by Likert for use with Likert scales did offer considerable time-saving advantage and was employed for this reason (Adorno et al., p. 77). Although it is more limited statistically, Likert and Murphy (1938) secured a .91 correlation between Discriminatory Powers and item-whole correlations, both of which were derived from a single scale.

The Discriminatory Power (D. P.) of each item was obtained by constituting a group of "high scorers" (the upper quartile of total scores) and a group of "low scorers" (the lower quartile). Item means for subjects in the upper and lower quartiles were then secured by averaging their response on each item. The D. P. for each item was the difference between the upper quartile mean and the lower quartile mean; it always contained no more than one digit to the left of the decimal point since item scores had been derived from a seven point scale (Murphy and Likert, 1938). The greater the difference between the high scorers and the low scorers on a given item, the greater was the D. P., and the more effectively that item measured peer dependency. The results are summarized in Table I which includes the conceptual model, the items derived for each section, the means and D. P.'s for each item, and the items retained for the final form or Form 4.

Again, utilizing the procedures of Adorno et al., (1950, p. 81) and Murphy and Likert (1938), the value of the obtained D. P.'s was established:

> While the standard deviations have not been obtained for all items, it can be shown that (with group N = 100 to 150) the standard error of the difference between the means for low and high scorers is almost never above .50, seldom below .25. In terms of the Critical Ratio, then, a D. P. of over 1.0 is statistically significant, that is, the means are different though the distributions are partially overlapping (Adorno, et al., 1950, p. 80).

In the present study, the total N approached 400.

Using a D. P. of 1.00 as the criterion for a useful item, analysis of Table I reveals that the Uplands Form possessed generally satisfactory qualities. Of the 100 items, only sixteen had a D. P. of less than 1.00. Only two items discriminated in a negative direction and both were less than -1.00. The mean D. P. for all 100 items was 1.53 which compared favorably with the mean D. P. of 1.80 obtained from the preliminary form of the F Scale which contained only thirty-eight items (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 245). The final form of the PD scale which contained fifty items had a mean D. P. of 2.01 as compared to a mean D. P. of 2.15 for Form 60 of the F Scale (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 253). These latter D. P.'s are not entirely comparable

TABLE I

PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE ITEMS AS DERIVED FROM THE CONCEPTUAL MODEL TOGETHER WITH MEAN, QUARTILE MEANS, AND DISCRIMINATORY POWER OF ITEMS FROM UPLANDS HIGH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Item: Uplands Form	Item: Form 4	Item	Mean	Mean of upper quartile	Mean of lower quartile	Discriminatory power
I.		Construing the Peer Culture as Possessing Independent Cultural Existence and Serving as a Legitimate Locus for Value Choice				
A.		a general recognition of the peer group or age group as distinct and separate, with the general implication of desirability				
1	1	". . . teen-age world is . . . by itself . . . ."	4.89	5.81	3.91	1.90
33	16	". . . meets people his own age (at school) . . . ."	4.33	4.95	3.37	1.58
42		"(unfortunately) . . . young . . . grow up . . . ."	3.29	3.82	2.51	1.31
46	23	". . . Scouts are . . . for younger children . . . ."	4.10	5.55	2.99	2.56
57	29	". . . regret graduating from high school . . . ."	3.71	4.69	2.75	1.94
76	42	"The teen-age years are the best years . . . ."	3.65	4.49	2.95	1.54
B.		considering the peer group as a valued reference point of decision making, often in preference to other authorities				
2	2	". . . get better advice from his friends . . . ."	2.99	3.81	2.15	1.66
7		". . .'. . . do something. . . illegal. . . .' "	5.13	5.91	4.28	1.63
13		". . . what . . . kids say seems to be true."	3.15	3.76	2.83	.93
15*		". . . go their own way (despite) . . . friends . . . ."	2.83	2.72	2.51	.21
19		". . . need the advice of their friends . . . ."	4.01	4.61	3.35	1.26
31		". . .'. . . do things. . . if everybody does it.' "	2.20	2.60	1.28	1.32
63		". . . take . . . friends along . . . ."	4.12	5.13	3.65	1.48
82	44	". . .'talk it over' (with friends) . . . ."	3.80	4.58	3.02	1.56
87	50	". . . (discuss statements with a friend) . . . ."	3.88	5.00	2.69	2.31
95*		". . . (not right) to break the law . . . ."	2.54	3.14	1.85	1.29

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*These items are scored in reverse.

TABLE I (Continued)

Item: Uplands Form	Item: Form 4	Item	Mean	Mean of upper quartile	Mean of lower quartile	Discriminatory power
II.		Subscription or Adherence to the Codes, Practices, and Attitudes of the Peer Group and Peer Culture: the Willingness to Adopt These Customs and Values at the Expense of Individuality				
A.		a preference for peer group association in contrast to solitary activities				
11	5	"It is necessary to belong to a group . . . ."	3.77	4.73	2.56	2.17
16	8	". . . take classes with their friends . . . ."	2.98	3.77	2.22	1.55
22	12	". . . go where their friends go . . . ."	4.75	5.76	3.67	2.09
29		"A person should have a large group of friends."	5.05	5.94	4.43	1.51
56		". . . find (a teen-ager) . . . with friends."	5.61	6.13	5.31	.82
68	34	". . . groups are more fun . . . ."	4.75	5.89	3.76	2.13
77		". . . should have their friends around . . . ."	3.34	4.21	2.65	1.56
85*		"It is better . . . to spend . . . time by himself . . . ."	4.55	5.02	4.10	.92
B.		a willingness to seek group approval and consensus, yield to group will				
24		"It is hard to say 'no thanks' . . . ."	5.25	5.86	4.36	1.50
41		". . . tell small lies to keep the approval . . . ."	3.15	3.70	2.27	1.42
59	31	". . . thinks and acts like his friends . . . ."	4.67	5.49	3.80	1.69
61		"It is upsetting . . . not (to) be like other(s) . . . ."	5.05	5.65	4.25	1.39
71	38	". . . should go along with them . . . ."	2.77	3.78	1.79	1.99
89	49	". . . embarrasing . . . when he is different . . . ."	4.76	5.74	3.75	1.99
C.		respect and esteem expressed toward the sub-cultural trademarks, i.e., music, dance, idiosyncratic language, modes of personal adornment, and the automobile; the implication that it is necessary to follow these customs				
4	3	". . . should try to keep up with . . . music . . . ."	3.51	4.53	2.67	1.86
9	4	". . . clothing from a friend or relative . . . ."	4.59	5.75	3.97	1.77
12		". . . 'clothes make the man' . . . ."	4.36	5.23	3.52	1.61
21	11	"Driving a car gives . . . status . . . ."	4.27	5.01	3.39	1.62
25*	10	"Wearing what is comfortable is more important . . . ."	3.47	4.65	2.40	2.25
32		". . . allow their child to follow a . . . fad . . . ."	6.18	6.57	5.84	.73

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*These items are scored in reverse.

TABLE I (Continued)

Item: Uplands Form	Item: Form 4	Item	Mean	Mean of upper quartile	Mean of lower quartile	Discriminatory power
34	17	" . . good reasons . . . to wear their hair . . . ."	4.61	5.61	3.76	1.85
38	19	" . . select clothes that the others like."	3.57	4.59	2.55	2.04
45*		" . . save . . . money . . for college . . . ."	3.22	4.03	2.73	1.30
49	26	"Fads are important to follow . . . ."	4.11	5.74	2.90	2.84
52		". . . check to see what his friends are wearing . . . ."	4.73	5.12	4.44	.68
84	46	". . . to have friends . . . have a car . . . ."	2.88	3.69	2.06	1.63
D.		accepting the ranking and rating practices and the importance of achieving group status or what is commonly called "popularity"				
3		". . . unpopular (friends are) . . . better than (none) . . . ."	3.91	4.37	3.80	.57
14	7	". . . (not) be seen with . . . socially inferior."	2.93	3.79	2.13	1.66
43	22	". . . join a popular club . . . ."	4.67	5.75	3.99	1.76
47	24	". . . (avoid event due to embarrasing friend) . . . ."	3.04	3.95	2.18	1.77
51		". . . help a really popular leader . . . ."	4.21	4.68	3.28	1.40
54	28	". . . (be friends with one who is disliked) . . . ."	4.62	5.64	3.63	2.01
55*		". . . job . . . (is) more satisfying . . . ."	3.88	4.34	3.67	.67
70*		". . . be a member of a popular group."	4.19	4.87	3.53	1.34
73	40	". . . try and get into a fraternity or sorority . . . ."	3.49	4.81	2.36	2.45
78		". . . wish (to be) . . . more popular."	6.04	6.38	5.74	.64
81	43	"The best friends to have are those who are liked . . . ."	4.03	5.31	2.81	2.50
91		". . . competition . . . for popularity . . . ."	4.24	4.94	3.67	1.27
93		". . . be damaged . . . 'wrong crowd.'"	4.81	5.38	4.25	1.13
97*		"(There are) . . . social pressures . . . ."	3.24	2.97	3.75	-.78
99*		". . . live up to his potentialities . . . ."	2.38	2.86	1.80	1.06
E.		acceptance of, adherence to, or valuing of the modes for achieving peer esteem and social status 1. athletic success (boys); physical beauty and activities (girls)				
20*		"For a girl . . . important to earn good grades . . . ."	4.27	4.98	3.55	1.43
27	14	". . . being 'good looking' (is fortunate) . . . ."	4.01	5.42	2.60	2.72
44		"Athletics . . . are attractive for boys . . . ."	5.28	5.91	4.64	1.27

*These items are scored in reverse.

TABLE I (Continued)

Item: Uplands Form	Item: Form 4	Item	Mean	Mean of upper quartile	Mean of lower quartile	Discriminatory power
53	27	". . . important to be a good athlete . . . ."	3.07	4.31	2.28	2.03
79		". . . the things that lead to popularity . . . ."	5.23	5.49	4.70	.79
2.	risk, stimulation, action, excitement					
28	18	"Staying home . . . is for older people."	3.48	5.13	2.19	2.94
86	47	". . . 'You just have to be daring . . . .'"	2.76	3.96	1.87	2.09
88	48	". . . interested in 'speed,' 'risks' . . . ."	4.59	5.95	3.06	2.89
3.	non-scholarly orientation					
8		"Being a very good student may interfere . . . ."	3.00	3.40	2.26	1.14
18	9	". . . only read when there is nothing else to do."	3.27	4.16	2.63	1.53
39	21	". . . too many smart students are not popular . . . ."	2.41	3.31	1.41	1.90
74	41	"A 'brain' is . . . unpopular . . . ."	3.59	4.73	2.41	2.32
4.	non-affiliation with adults, authority					
30*		". . . better to stay with teachers and parents."	3.49	4.23	3.14	1.09
64		". . . dislike being called a 'teacher's pet.'"	5.19	5.66	4.96	.70
5.	prescriptions regarding heterosexual activity					
67	36	"The best sort of person to go steady with . . . ."	3.34	4.24	2.49	1.75
75*		"There is too much concern about dating . . . ."	3.68	4.28	2.91	1.37
III.	Alienation and Conflict Between Generations: a Cluster of Attitudes Which Underscores the Separation, the Mutual Lack of Understanding, and the Mutual Antipathy Between Generations, and the Consequent Predisposition of Adolescents to Withdraw Allegiance from Adults and Societal Institutions.					
A.	seeking adult prerogatives which are denied					
10*	5	". . . legal age to vote and to drink . . . ."	4.37	5.28	2.98	2.30
B.	the overt and recognized hiatus between generations emphasizing such qualities as alienation, separation, the inability to communicate, and the lack of mutual basis for understanding					
26	13	". . . cannot understand one another."	3.53	5.30	2.46	2.84

*These items are scored in reverse.

TABLE I (Continued)

Item: Uplands Form	Item: Form 4	Item	Mean	Mean of upper quartile	Mean of lower quartile	Discrimi-natory power
48		"Teachers don't really know what's going on . . . ."	3.30	4.28	2.80	1.48
62	33	"No teacher can really know . . . a teen-ager."	2.72	3.83	1.84	1.99
66	37	"Parents don't understand the language . . . ."	3.96	5.13	3.12	2.01
83	45	"Parents can't really be pals . . . ."	3.19	4.26	2.46	1.80
94		". . . bound to be problems between parents . . . ."	5.76	6.67	5.49	1.18
98*		". . . look to (parents) . . . for understanding."	3.40	4.01	2.76	1.25
100*		"Grown-ups seem to have more sympathy than friends do."	4.01	4.44	3.87	.57
C.		a mild but critical attitude toward the practices of adults and societal institutions, with the occasional implication that these do not serve as models worthy of emulation				
23		". . . ' . . . they don't practice what they preach.'"	5.76	6.28	5.14	1.14
36		". . . ' . . . school seems to be . . . hard work . . . ."	2.35	2.64	1.27	1.37
60*	30	"Parents are very helpful during the teen years."	3.42	4.43	2.91	1.52
69		". . . ' . . . it's the fault of the adults.'"	5.13	5.42	4.80	.62
72	39	". . . school courses . . . 'dull and boring' . . . ."	3.29	4.40	2.42	1.98
80*		". . . find a good adult to copy . . . ."	4.04	3.78	4.68	-.90
92		". . . ' . . . raise my kids a lot differently . . . .'"	4.44	4.93	4.28	.65
D.		the tendency to construe adults as possessing hostile and depreciating motives toward adolescents				
6		". . . 'Children should be buried at 12 . . .' . . . ."	3.03	3.39	2.32	1.07
35*	15	"Most grown-ups are on the side of young people."	3.69	4.99	2.86	2.13
37		"Since teen-agers are often frowned upon by adults . . . ."	4.83	5.40	4.28	1.12
65*	35	". . . (policemen help) young people . . . ."	3.38	4.13	2.48	1.65
E.		the denial of allegiance, responsibility, duty, and obedience with respect to parents, adults, and family				
5*		". . . help pay the family grocery bill."	5.11	5.21	4.85	.36
17		". . . 'What parents don't know won't hurt them.'"	3.44	4.75	2.51	2.24
40*		". . . (parents may) demand to know where . . . ."	2.77	3.43	1.96	1.47

*These items are scored in reverse.

TABLE I (Continued)

Item: Uplands Form	Item: Form 4	Item	Mean	Mean of upper quartile	Mean of lower quartile	Discriminatory power
50*	25	"Parents should be more strict with their children."	4.24	5.48	3.37	2.11
58	32	". . . ' . . . try . . . things . . . such as smoking. . . ."	5.07	5.88	3.95	1.93
90*		". . . live according to the rules . . . ."	4.13	4.90	3.80	1.10
96*	20	"It is possible to have fun and . . . obey parents."	2.83	3.68	2.08	1.60
Means for 100 items of Uplands Form			3.94	4.74	3.21	1.53
Means for 50 items of Form 4			3.76	4.82	2.80	2.01
Means for 76 items scored positively			4.04	4.90	3.24	1.66
*Means for 24 items scored negatively			3.63	4.24	3.11	1.14

*These items are scored in reverse.

however, since Form 60 of the F Scale had been administered to a second population. In general, however, the D. P.'s of the same items from Form 78 appeared to have increased their magnitude in Form 60, possibly due to a general strengthening of the Scale. One might have predicted a similar trend from the Uplands Form to Form 4 of the PD Scale had D. P.'s been computed on another sample. The inability to obtain D. P.'s of 3.00 or better (Form 60 of the F Scale had three) could be attributed to lesser homogeneity of items as is discussed elsewhere. Again, greater power for individual items might well have been obtained by limiting age and sex variation.

Two items of the original 100 yielded negative D. P.'s, that is, those subjects who demonstrated higher adherence tended to respond against these two items, while low scorers responded more in the direction of the model. Both items were phrased negatively and their scores were converted. Item 97 stated, "The social pressures for teen-agers are enough to get anyone down -- pressures to be popular, to dress like the others, and to think the same thoughts." It was anticipated that high scorers who tend to value the youth culture and its social striving nature would disagree with this item, both because they would prefer not to see its restrictive features and because they actually did participate out of esteem for the social rating practices. Such was not the case. By agreeing with the item, they appeared to recognize the culture's coercive nature and to admit their own discomfort with it.

It did seem that this item suggested the driven quality of high peer dependence as if these adolescents were compelled by internal need, yet anxious and resentful of the social striving involved. On the other hand, low scorers were more apt to disagree with the item, possibly indicating their own personal independence and lack of coertion. Hence, they appeared to be free of the subcultural demand and showed no remorse or compulsion. If these interpretations hold, the implication is that the peer culture offers a counterfeit or pseudo-solution for identity crises which is recognized as anxiety or threat by the believers, and is experienced as freedom by the non-believers. This, of course, is relevant to and supportive of the hypotheses of the study, but could not have been anticipated in designing the item.

The other item which did not conform was 80, "One of the best ways for a teen-ager to grow up is to find a good adult to copy and to pattern himself after." Again, disagreement with the item would constitute greater peer dependence, since the separation between generations and the rejection of adult controls were implicit to the model and were substantiated by many other items. As with Item 97, the high scorers agreed to greater extent while the low scorers tended to reject the item (approaching "disagree a little"). Inadvertently, the item could have stumbled on a major contributory factor for the existence of the peer culture, as well as one not investigated by the study. It was assumed in the formulation of the hypotheses that the adolescent identity crisis came first, leading to high regard of peer values and conflict with adults as adolescents pursued autonomy and independence. The nature of the responses suggested, however, that parental rejection (or conflict initiated by the parents) came first, and the adolescent response was to seek the company of his contemporaries and to acknowledge the cleavage (as revealed in other items which emphasized the lack of communication and the hostile motives of adults). Agreement with Item 80 could recognize the yearning of these high scoring, peer dependent adolescents for significant contact with accepting adults. Clinical evidence has certainly supported the notion that those children who rebel or act out openly against authority are often the ones who are driven by restrictive, dominating, hostile, or rejecting parents. Conversely, the low scoring, non-peer dependent group may be securing its independence of adults and, hence, see less need for either conflict or being succored.

The response to both items was startling, but far from conclusive. It was impossible to test the implications within the design of the present study.

The results of item analysis definitely supported the conceptual model of the adolescent peer culture. Of the sixteen categories under three general constructs, each contained items which significantly discriminated between high scorers and low scorers. No single portion of the model was rejected or found to be unrelated to the whole.

Form 4 of the Peer Dependency Scale

Form 4 of the PD Scale was used to test the hypotheses of the study and was constructed upon completion of statistical operations on Form 3, the Uplands Form. The following criteria were used to select items: (1) the item must contribute to the structural unity of the scale. Although a D. P. of 1.00 represents a significant difference not attributable to chance, the criterion D. P. selected was 1.50. This recognized the need to reduce the length of the scale and to secure powerful items, (2) items with a D. P. of 1.50 or greater were further screened to reduce the overlap of content and to secure balance between the categories of the conceptual model, and (3) items with a D. P. of 1.50 or greater were further reduced by the removal of those items which were most offensive or controversial. The application of these criteria resulted in Form 4 which contained fifty items.

The "sensitive items" which were deleted included 7 (" . . . 'What parents don't know won't hurt them.' ") Other items eliminated in the interest of securing balance between categories, reducing content overlap, and eliminating less powerful items, were 29, 77, and 24 which concerned peer group association and group will (overlap), and 12, having to do with clothing (overlap). It should be noted that a number of items appear to be similar at first glance. The issue of adolescent clothing appeared directly or by implication in five items (9, 25, 34, 38, 49), although the context in which it was used was quite different.

At one time, agreement was the mere willingness to value youth culture dress, while at another time agreement was consistent with the demand that parents permit this practice, while on a still different occasion, agreement was the willingness to yield in the face of group disapproval. Form 4 of the PD Scale was administered to 3440 adolescents in settings and under conditions described in Chapter III. Statistics regarding reliability, item power, factorial composition, and validity are included here in order to present a more coherent coverage of the scale. Form 4, as it was presented is shown in Appendix B. All further references to item numbers are to those of Form 4.

Reliability

With respect to reliability, the use of an odd-even correlational technique (corrected by the Spearman-Brown Prophecy Formula) with a random sample of males, a random sample of females, a combined sample of both, a sample of ninth males at Riverside High School, and a sample of twelfth females at Westside Heights High School yielded correlations from .84 to .90. Such coefficients are quite respectable and approach the standards which are demanded of acceptable intelligence tests. Form 4 of the PD Scale did distribute subjects accurately along a continuum wherein a high score had a different psychological meaning than a low score and where chance and unaccounted error had been minimized. The results are summarized in Table II.

TABLE II

RELIABILITY OF PD SCALE, FORM 4

Group	Sample of females	Sample of males	Combined sample	Sample of 9th males	Sample of 12th females
Reliability coefficient*	.84	.87	.86	.85	.90
Mean (total)	179.88	198.06	188.97	189.03	169.70
Mean (odd half)	87.96	98.06	93.01	94.25	83.56
Mean (even half)	91.92	100.00	95.96	94.78	86.14
S.D. (total)	34.22	36.80	36.71		
S.D. (odd half)	16.83	19.24	19.69		
S. D. (even half)	17.90	20.02	19.43		
N	50	50	100	50	50

*All coefficients have been corrected using the Spearman-Brown Prophecy Formula. All correlations are significant at the .01 level.

Some evidence as to item stability and the effect of order of item presentation was secured in the form of a rho coefficient which correlated the rank order of item means from the Uplands Form and from Form 4. The rank order coefficient was .77, which was surprisingly high and had considerable meaning. In the first place, the Uplands Form and Form 4 were quite different; Form 4 had half as many items presented in quite a different order. No attempt was made to equate the groups and there was good reason to suspect that setting differences existed. It was warranted to conclude that the power of an item to discriminate and the stability of an item mean were dependent on the item and its content rather than the order of placement.

Intercorrelation of Items

Securing item intercorrelations is a further means of demonstrating consistency and unidimensionality of a psychological test. For the fifty items, there were 1225 intercorrelations with the range being -.04 to .35 (compared to a range of -.05 to .44 for the F Scale)(Adorno, et al., 1950, p. 261). Of the 1225 intercorrelations, only seven were negative, all of which occurred between Item 5 and other items. The mean inter-item correlation was .13 (identical to the mean inter-item correlation of F Scale items)(Adorno et al., 1950, p. 261). The inescapable conclusion drawn from these statistical procedures performed on the total population was that the PD Scale (like the F Scale) possesses relatively lesser surface homogeneity when compared to other instruments; for example, the mean inter-item correlation between subtests of the 1937 revision of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale was .38 .

However, final conclusions as to the relationship of items to one another needed to await further analysis. Both factor analytic procedures and item intercorrelations secured from discrete sex and age groupings revealed that systematic variation occurred as a consequence of the action of these variables. Hence, low item intercorrelations resulted in part from cancelling effects as segments of the total population responded consistently but divergently from other groups, rather than from a general inconsistency due to inadequate items. Two subgroups chosen for their greater variability (ninth grade boys at Riverside High School and twelfth grade girls at Westside Heights High School) had inter-item correlations which ranged from -.19 to .42, and from -.26 to .52. Not only was the range greater, but the mean intercorrelation was higher. The inter-item correlations for the total population are included in Appendix B.

Item-Whole Correlations

An additional measure of an item's "goodness" is its correlation with the remainder of the scale; this technique, although statistically superior, yields similar data as the Discriminatory Power method of item analysis utilized with the Uplands Form. While the inter-item correlations based on the entire sample have demonstrated the somewhat independent qualities of individual items, the item-whole correlations revealed each item's relationship to the total construct of "peer dependency." Based on the total sample, the range of item-whole correlations was from .17 to .53 with a mean item-whole correlation of .35. These findings are comparable to those of Adorno _et al._, (1950, p. 261) with Forms 40 and 45 of the F Scale which demonstrated a range from .15 to .52 and a mean correlation of .33. Neither approaches the mean item-whole correlation of .61 found with the 1937 revision of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale.

The lowest item-whole _r_ was .17 (Item 5), followed by .24 (Item 48). Why Item 5 ("Even though boys can be drafted at age 18, the legal age to vote and to drink should be kept at 21") should be statistically weak is inexplicable; its D. P. from the Uplands sample was 2.30 which was somewhat above the mean D. P. of 2.01. Since item placement had little or no effect on item power, and since sex and age variables were held constant, the only conclusion is that setting differences or a widespread attitudinal change over time (March to May) had rendered the item less useful.

It could be argued that the above item-whole correlations are inflated due to the failure to restrict variables such as intelligence, chronological age, and sex. To test the possibility that the obtained correlations were artifacts of the tendency of items to vary together as a consequence of age and sex (rather than peer dependency), group item-whole mean *r*'s were computed. In each case (of a total of eight) the mean item-whole *r* was greater than .35 (the mean *r* for the total sample). For the two lowest groups, ninth grade boys and twelfth grade girls, the mean *r*'s were .35 and .37 with ranges of .21 to .53 and .15 to .52. While age and sex were variables which produced systematic variation (as demonstrated elsewhere), controlling these factors only enhanced the power of items. Hence, while age and sex did produce predictable quantitative changes (increasing the magnitude of the correlation), controlling for these variables increased the mean item-whole *r* as subjects responded with greater qualitative consistency to items. The finding that age and sex produced consistent quantitative and qualitative changes is powerful evidence that the significant variable was peer dependency.

Factorial Composition of the PD Scale

The responses of all 3440 subjects without regard for sex, age, or setting differences were factor analyzed to gain perspective on scale characteristics and the conformity of the scale to the proposed peer culture model. The scale was factor analyzed according to the basic structure simultaneous factor method (Horst, 1965, p. 273). The principal axes were rotated to a varimax solution. The largest factor accounted for 15.6% of the variance and no factors were extracted which accounted for less than 2% of the variance. Twelve factors were extracted, of which one had sufficient generality to be labeled a "common" factor. The remainder were "specific" in the sense that they applied to half a dozen or fewer items. The total variance accounted for was 44%. Although factor analytic procedures had produced better than 75% reduction, the variance accounted for was somewhat small for this total sample. Factors, factor loadings, and item intercorrelations are identified in Appendix B, Tables XV to XXVI. Factor I was clearly "social status," or perhaps, popularity, or status seeking by association with esteemed individuals and groups. It accounted for 15.6% of the variance and included ten items which loaded at levels of .30 or higher; with three exceptions all fifty items loaded positively. Their principal commonality was the propensity to seek social status. This trend was strongly evident in those six items with the highest loadings. Of the remainder, three offered specific routes (e.g., familiarity with cult music) to group esteem. The items corresponded closely with those of II. D of the peer culture model (four items of the six with highest factor loadings occurred in II. D) which was entitled, "accepting the ranking and rating practices and the importance of achieving group status or what is commonly called 'popularity.'"

Factor II, "authority alienation," accounted for 4.6% of the variance and was quite distinct as a second dimension of the PD Scale.

All five items occurred under III of the peer culture model, "alienation and conflict between generations." Three of the subcategories (B, C, D) shared the items, while items with the highest loadings came from D, "the tendency to construe adults as possessing hostile . . . motives toward adolescents."

Quite accidently, these five items dealing with authority had all been phrased negatively and the question arises as to whether this second factor is not a relatively pure measure of the "acquiescent response set," rather than "authority alienation." In general, the evidence is against such a contention. The two other negatively phrased items did not load significantly on Factor II. In addition, the manifest content of each of the five items is definitely concerned with relationships with authority figures. Finally, mean inter-item correlations were computed between these five items and the remainder of the scale, the result being an mean *r*, of .10 which was only slightly below the mean inter-item *r* of .13 for the total scale. If the acquiescent response set was operative, it contributed very minimally to the power of Factor II. The fact that all five items were phrased negatively was due more to inadequacies in the item pool as a consequence of attempting to reduce the objectionable qualities of positively phrased items dealing with similar content.

Factor III, "non-communication between generations" accounted for 3.0% of the total variance and contained six items which loaded significantly. Items appeared alternately from I, A, ". . . recognition of the . . . age group as distinct and separate . . ." and III, B, "the overt and recognized hiatus between generations . . ." The fact that the subjects pulled items from different portions of the model was not particularly surprising, since the dimension was fundamentally similar and the organization was equally plausible to the form chosen by the investigator.

Factor IV, "conformity to subcultural symbols," accounted for 2.6% of the variance and contained four items. All items appeared in II of the peer culture model, "subscription or adherence to the codes . . . of the peer group" and three were from II, C, "respect and esteem expressed toward the subcultural trademarks . . . ." Specific modes included clothing, the automobile, and adolescent music.

Factor V included six items, and accounted for 2.6% of total variance. Erikson's term, "locomotorist intoxication" well describes this somewhat confusing factor, which included diverse content such as automobile ownership, being "daring" and concerned with "speed" and "risk," and participation in athletics. The commonality is unmistakable when Erikson's accounts of "the craving for locomotion," the absorption in sports, and the "misuse of speedy . . . machines" are considered (Erikson, 1962, p. 13). In general, it conformed to the peer culture model under II, E, 2, "risk, stimulation, action, excitement."

Factor VI contained three items and accounted for 2.4% of the total variance. Tentatively titled "avoidance of loss of group esteem," it appeared to be a specific, but second order "social status" factor. In common, the items described a reluctance to deviate from group practice, and emphasized the uncomfortable affective responses which occur with deviation or separation from the group.

Factor VII, "tabooed pleasures," included four items and accounted for 2.3% of the total variance. Its items contained references to consumption of alcoholic beverages, smoking, exceeding the speed limit, and rejection of parental authority over such matters. It might have been alternately labeled as a "delinquency" or "acting out" factor. Although drawn diversely from III of the peer culture model, it referred specifically to III, A, "seeking adult perogatives . . . " which might be better labeled to include the rebellious and forbidden flavor of these activities.

Factor VIII dealt explicitly with an "anti-academic orientation." Seven items loaded significantly and the factor included 2.2% of the variance. Five of the seven items contained direct reference to academic achievement and activities; the statements noted the unpopularity of those who achieve, the non-stimulating quality associated with scholastic activities, and the separation between teachers and students. It was obviously linked to II, E, 3, "non-scholarly orientation."

Factor IX was a second order "conformity" factor, entitled, "conformity to subcultural symbols: appearance." Its items were concerned with fads, hair style, and clothing, in particular. It contained seven items, accounting for 2.5% of the variance, which were drawn almost exclusively from II, "subscription or adherence to the codes . . . of the peer group," and C, "respect and esteem expressed toward the subcultural trademarks."

Factor X, "separation from parents" appeared superficially to be linked to Factors II, "authority alienation" and III, "non-communication between generations." However, it referred specifically to parents, who were mentioned in each item, and emphasized remoteness and the inability of parents to be helpful. Four items were contained and 2.1% of the variance was included. The items were found in III of the peer culture model.

Factor XI, "consensual validation," reflected the tendency to view the peer group as possessing a "group mind" with a sort of institutional judgment which superceded the individual. There was also the implication that one should yield to the group will for the sake of expediency, to escape being conspicuous or contentious, and to avoid the loss of esteem. The items were found in I, B, "considering the peer group as a valued reference point in decision making," and II, B, "a willingness to seek group approval and consensus." There were four items and Factor XI accounted for 2.1% of the variance.

Factor XII was confused and remained untitled. It included items whose only commonality was some reference to the school setting. It contained four items and 2.0% of the variance.

The most striking result of factor analytic treatment was the general support afforded the peer culture model and the category by category correspondence of content. At some level, nearly every category was reflected in the rotated factors. The first three factors represented the major divisions of the model as I, II, and III. Items shifted categories, but most often the shift could be alternately interpreted with equal face validity. Certain items were construed quite differently, however. Item 23, "The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are mainly for younger children; they have little to offer that is of interest to teen-agers," was particularly interesting, for it seemed to have had quite different meanings to individual adolescents. Its item-whole _r_ was .38 or slightly better than the mean _r_ of .35. When the item was designed, it was placed in I, A ("a general recognition of the peer group or age group as distinct and separate . . .") of the peer culture model. The assumption was that adolescents would define Scout activities as characteristic of pre-adolescence and reject or accept the item according to the extent to which they adhered to peer culture values. Surprisingly, it did not load heavily on Factor III, but, rather on Factors VIII, "Anti-Academic Orientation," and IX, "Conformity to Subcultural Symbols: Appearance." It appeared as if the subjects responded more from their own experiences with those who still took part in Scouting activities than from any stereotype based on past knowledge of the Scouting movement. According to this interpretation, the "Scout" item was grouped with anti-academic items because those who still belong are seen as having purchased the adult or teacher view of the world in the area of scholastic achievement. Similarly, Item 23 loaded on Factor IX, "Conformity to Subcultural Symbols: Appearance," because Scouts wear uniforms which are reminiscent of younger age groups and at odds with the peer culture.

Factorial Structure Differences

To lend insight regarding qualitative differences between various sub-groups divided on sex and age variables, four discrete factor analyses were carried out for Riverside ninth grade males, Westside Heights twelfth males, Riverside ninth grade females, and Westside Heights twelfth grade females. These findings support: (1) the contention that the peer culture has quite diverse psychological meanings and functions (dependent on age and sex) and, (2) that the low homogeneity of the PD Scale based on a factor analysis of the whole is partially the result of a cancelling effect which occurred as males and females of different ages construed and arranged items and dimensions quite differently. Variance accounted for, and number of factors extracted were as follows:

Group	N	Number of Factors	Per Cent of Variance
Total Sample	3440	12	44%
9 Boys, Riverside	170	17	64%
12 Boys, Westside Heights	81	17	72%
9 Girls, Riverside	225	17	63%
12 Girls, Westside Heights	90	17	72%

The rather abrupt decrease in error variance in the specific groups attested to the increase in homogeneity and the tendency to respond to items differently from group to group, but more consistently within each group. Specific factors and factor loadings are identified in Tables XXVII to XXX in *Appendix B*.

Perusal of the factor structure of ninth grade males at Riversid High School revealed a quite different arrangement of items and factor than occurred with the total sample. The first factor suggested a linking together of several trends into a common dimension used to perceive and respond. It included three principal elements, the first of which was non-communication with and separation from parents, and secondly (and perhaps the consequence of) a preoccupation with speed, risk, danger, and forbidden pleasures. The third element was peculiar; it contained the second highest factor loading which was nega tive, and was Item 36, "The best sort of person to go steady with is one who is popular and successful in school activities." The probabili is that ninth grade males do not devalue social status among the girls they anticipate "going steady" with so much as that fourteen year old boys (especially those who value the peer culture) are not entirely ready to "go steady" with any girl. Factor II dealt with peer culture symbols, specifically clothing, linking them with anti-authority items. Other factors included "group association ," "non-scholarly orientation," "authority alienation," and "submission to group will." Two other significant findings emerged: (1) Factors III and VI both were concerned with valuing various symbols of the culture (music, driving, hair style), but contained negative loadings on authority items; it was as if the dimension were one of "safe" adherence to the youth culture and the concerns were impulse control, (2) the failure of a powerful social status factor to appear; social status items simply did not load until Factor IX which accounted for only 3% of the variance.

The factor structure of twelfth grade boys also contained a single powerful factor with several dimensions including "speed," "risk," and "action" (locomotorist intoxication"), separation from, and non-communication with adults, social acceptance, and a non-scholarly orientation. "Authority alienation" was Factor II and "social status" or "popularity" did not emerge until Factor VI. Of principal interest were Factors III, IV, and VIII wherein negative factor loadings were strongly apparent. Factor III has been tentatively titled "independence of judgment" for it contained the propensity to seek peer opinion, but strongly rejected yielding to group demands on issues of principle, while also rejecting parental intrusions. Factor IV was similar, and was viewed as a "responsibility" factor, since it implied that adolescents should assume some adult responsibilities (voting) while realizing that adults may need to be stricter with children.

The first and primary factor in the factor analysis of PD Scale responses of ninth grade girls at Riverside High School contained tendencies to reject an academic orientation, to esteem the symbols according status, and to value peer group association. Factor II suggested a separation from parents and concomitant reliance on peers, while Factor III was clearly "social acceptance." In similar fashion as ninth grade males, Factor III has included a "safety feature" in the form of a negative loading regarding obedience toward adults.

The factor structure of twelfth grade girls was similar in its principal factors to that of the total sample. Factor I was obviously a "group status" or "acceptance" factor, II was separation from adults, and III dealt with peer culture symbols, specifically clothing. As with twelfth grade boys, several items appeared which contained strong negative loadings. Factor V, "personal independence" rejected obedience to parents but also rejected the slavish conformity implicit in Item 20, "Teen-agers go where their friends go, and do what they do," while also admitting that parents could be stricter but refusing to yield to the peer group on matters of principle. Factor VIII, "responsible conformity," strongly acknowledged the "good reasons" why adolescents dress similarly and listen to the same music, but rejected the necessity for boys to have motor vehicles, or for adolescents to engage in "speed" and "risk."

Strong and significant clues appeared as to the progressive qualitative changes in peer culture adherence in the years from fourteen to eighteen; there were equally strong indications that boys and girls use the peer culture for somewhat different psychological purposes.

As to sex differences, boys, regardless of age, had chosen to include in the first and most powerful factor the dimension of "speed," "risk," "action," and limited danger whether it occurred as a descriptive word or in relation to response to the physical world. It is as if mastery of the physical world and securing an estimate of one's own capacities by testing limits are the goals, and peer culture adherence is the means. Irrevocably linked in the same factor was an acknowledgment of separation from parents and adults. Whether such separation is endorsed by boys as the inevitable consequence of indulging in activities frowned upon by adults, or whether it represents a separate struggle for mastery, cannot be determined at this point. Of interest, also, was the marked rejection of girls by ninth grade boys; there was no similar occurrence among twelfth grade boys. Both ninth and twelfth grade boys relegate "group status," and in particular, ranking and rating practices, far below the above dimensions.

For girls, the situation was almost precisely reversed. Risk, danger, and physical mastery hardly appeared as significant, while social status and popularity presumed enormous importance. It is as if the peer culture serves girls by constituting a social arena in which interpersonal relationships become the superordinate issue. Certainly, these findings are in general support of the oft-noted Western cultural expectation that males secure dominance and mastery, especially in the objective physical world as providers, while females become specialists in the subjective interpersonal world which reaches culmination in the rearing of children.

Age level trends also support further generalizations regarding the meaning of the peer culture in early adolescence as contrasted with middle adolescence. Among both ninth grade boys and girls were indications of concern regarding impulse control. Although risk and danger appeared conspiciously for boys, there existed also a factor which was characterized as "safe risk;" for girls, obedience to parents was rejected in one major factor, while, in another, peer culture codes were subscribed to, so long as they did not violate what adults held to be "right." This finding is generally consistent with the suppositions of personality theories which possess well-defined impulse systems. In these systems, early adolescence is viewed as particularly trying with the recrudescence of early impulses or the occurrence of powerful new drives due to puberty and sexual maturity. In either event, the ego is seen as beset by drive and not totally able to contain or balance drive and control. The peer culture, then, may serve as a setting for drive release, but it also raises fears relevant to impulse control.

Finally, among older adolescents, factors appeared which could be described as "personal independence" and "responsibility." With negative factor loadings, they hinted at the rejection of both adult and peer control. Here, there is similarity with the propositions of ego theorists who view maturity as the institutionalization of autonomy and judgment within an ego system which is free from compelling internal drive and the coercion of environmental demand.

The preceding interpretations assume, of course, that the peer culture is a medium for personality development rather than a commercial artifact or, perhaps, the hedonistic product of permissive child rearing.

Homogeneity and Reliability

One of the more perplexing issues in psychological measurement has been the tendency to confuse homogeneity and reliability (Edwards, 1966, p. 236). In general, homogeneity reflects the tendency of test items to measure the same dimension, while reliability suggests consistency over time or within an instrument. Obviously they are interrelated and the absence of one (especially reliability) raises doubt as to the existence of the other. Regarding reliability, the worth of the PD Scale is unquestioned; odd-even coefficients approached .90 . This degree of reliability obtained by measures of internal consistency presupposes some homogeneity.

Edwards (1966, p. 239, 241) defined homogeneity as the extent to which items measure the same thing as given by the covariances among items and between items and the whole. These statistics have been provided (mean inter-item *r* of .13 and mean item-whole *r* of .35) and revealed lesser but significant homogeneity. In part, this was to be expected. "Peer dependency" as a construct is not independent of the modes or behaviors in which it is manifest. Devising a model which contains categories that include great diversity of content (in addition to the common dimension) introduces error and specific, idiosyncratic variation which reduces the power of each item. Nonetheless, the items relate to one another.

The following summary includes the relevant evidence. From the statistical analysis of the Uplands Scale (items which were untried and only conceptually valid), only two of 100 items discriminated in the negative direction between high and low peer dependent groups. Neither deviation was significant. All sixteen categories of the model yielded powerful items. In the statistical analysis of Form 4, all but seven of 1225 item intercorrelations were positive. These seven negative correlations resulted from a single item. The item-whole correlations were all positive (mean *r* of .35). Factor analysis of the PD Scale using all subjects yielded a factor by factor correspondence with the categories of the peer culture model. Nevertheless, the factor analysis of the whole left an error variance of 56%. However, when groups separated by sex, age, and setting were examined and factor analyzed, homogeneity increased (mean inter-item and item-whole $\underline{r}$'s increased) and the error variance dropped substantially. Thus, sub-groups of greater homogeneity produced a test with greater homogeneity. Such a finding is not particularly surprising, but can only occur if the items are adequate.

So, while each subject varied in his responses (as reflected by low item-intercorrelations), there was generalized consistent support or rejection of peer dependency (reliability). The low inter-item $\underline{r}$'s must be attributed to: (1) the diverse content and the intrusion of many specific content variables unrelated to peer dependency, (2) the possibility that different items were relevant to different subjects, but that many different items were relevant to all, yielding consistent odd-even totals and a reliable total PD Score, and (3) the cancelling effects of age and sex variables which reduced homogeneity for the whole but produced predictable qualitative variation. Put another way, not all the ideas contained on the PD Scale were of equal importance to each peer dependent adolescent, but there were sufficient different ideas of importance to produce high reliability with lesser homogeneity.

There is no claim that the "peer dependency" dimension is pure or homogeneous; however, the items did hang together, and it is justifiable to hold that a "peer dependency" syndrome has been isolated. Perhaps this is all that can be anticipated when the diversity of content is considered. The PD Scale, although quite a different dimension from "authoritarianism," closely conformed, statistic by statistic, with the F Scale which served as its model for construction.

Concurrent Validation of the PD Scale

With regard to the all-important issue of validity, this experimental version of the PD Scale rested on three primary factors: (1) the notion of "construct validity," wherein a psychological instrument derives support from the care taken to select items which are drawn from a model that is theoretically sound as well as consistent with previous research. Ultimate validation is secured by other means and usually offers evidence as to the soundness of both the instrument and the construct from which it was derived. Earlier portions of this chapter attended to efforts to secure and document a model of the adolescent peer culture; (2) evidence of reliability. The demonstration of reliability and, in this case, unidimensionality, are prerequisites for validity. The PD Scale possessed an acceptable level of reliability. Its unidimensionality (or homogeneity) was apparent from the tendency of items to correlate with one another and to correlate with the composite whole. The items did hang together and could be summed meaningfully. Further, factor analytic findings which permitted additional dimensions of the scale to appear lent powerful support to the original construct or model. Thus, the validity of the construct is apparent;

(3) concurrent validity. Eventually "real world" referrents of the construct must be determined. Some evidence can be offered at this point as to what "peer dependency" might be. Its relationship to age, sex, intelligence, achievement, "leadership," and participation in activities are related to the hypotheses of the study; hence, it would constitute an error in logic to utilize these to establish validity. So, several additional items were added to the questionnaire administered to the 3440 high school subjects. These items contributed in limited fashion to the assumption that the PD Scale measured what it purported to measure.

Some items were taken from Coleman's questionnaire (Coleman, 1961) and modified for present purposes; others were developed for the particular demands of the present situation. High and low peer dependent groups were constituted (the upper and lower 20%) and means were secured on each response. The significance of the difference between means was established by use of the conventional _t_ test. The results are included in Table XXXI in Appendix C. The high and low peer dependent groups were further separated according to grade, sex, and setting. Only two settings have been utilized in these comparisons, since Wheatland, Valley Center, and Seaview High Schools had so few students (particularly when 60% were omitted) that it would have been impossible to establish a respectable level of significance due to the restricted number of cases. Even so, the means for tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders at Westside Heights High School were somewhat more variable and less likely to attain significant differences because the sample was truncated. Differences were reported at the usual levels of confidence, .001, .01, .02, and .05, and at .1 as well. For each response there were sixteen comparisons of means: two settings, two sexes, and four grades.

The first item was as follows:

> If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would it be?
>
> _______________ brilliant student
> _______________ athletic star (boys); leader in activities (girls)
> _______________ most popular

If the results of this item were to lend support to the PD Scale, then the low peer dependency group should have checked "brilliant student" significantly more often than the other two items. Because only a single item was provided for low peer dependency, significance should be most easily attained by mean differences on "brilliant student." Of the sixteen comparisons, fourteen were significant at the .1 level or better, and eleven at the .05 level or better. For the "athletic star" or "leader in activities" item, eleven differences were significant at the .1 level and eight at the .05 level. These significant differences were all in the expected direction and conformed precisely to the prediction.

3

The second item was as follows:

> What does it take to be really popular and well-liked. Rank the following from 1 to 5. Give 1 to the quality that is most likely to lead to popularity, 2 to the quality that is next, and so on down to 5.
>
> ______ good student
> ______ star athlete (boys);
> leader in activities (girls)
> ______ attractive or handsome
> ______ good personality
> ______ liked by teachers

The second item was more problematic, for it suggested that adolescents make judgments regarding what is required for popularity rather than what should be. Low and high peer dependent groups might agree as to what exists but disagree as to its value. If, however, they do perceive the social milieu differently, then the low peer dependent group ought to attach more value to "good student" and "liked by teachers," and the high peer dependent group ought to value "star athlete" and "attractive or handsome." "Good personality" should be irrelevant since it is not an issue in peer dependency. These hypotheses were generally supported. "Good student," yielded twelve significant differences at the .1 level and eight at the .05 level or better. "Star athlete (boys); leader in activities (girls)" was less discriminating. Two differences at the .05 level were achieved. "Attractive or handsome" provided thirteen differences significant at the .05 level or better. "Good personality" had no differences significant at the .05 level. "Liked by teachers" offered five significant differences, two of which were at the .05 level or better.

It must be noted that these above items are not unlike items of the PD Scale, although presented in a different context. It could be argued that they reflect reliability or consistency among the subjects as much as concurrent validity. Additional items were included which required subjects to indicate the sorts of commodities on which money was spent. Although this is confounded by the amount of money available, (and there may well be differences between groups on this variable), it did offer a more direct behavioral referrent. The third item was: "How much do you spend on clothes per month on the average?" Four choices were provided from "less than $5" to "more than $25," which were then coded from one to four. To offer evidence as to validity, the high peer dependent group should have spent more. Six differences were significant (five at the .05 level or better) in the predicted direction. "Do you own a car, or have one that you call your own?" produced only one difference (at the .1 level) in the expected direction.

> Teen-agers use their money in many ways. Rank these as to how much you estimate you spent on each in the past school year. 1 would be for the most money spent, 7 for the least.
>
> ________ clothes, cosmetics or toiletries
> ________ car and insurance, gas
> ________ entertainment, dates
> ________ records
> ________ saving for the future, college
> ________ school costs
> ________ books

The commodities reflected an imbalance in favor of peer dependent choices which increased the difficulty of achieving significance. The peer dependent group should have spent more on clothes, cars, entertainment, and records and less on saving for the future and books. "School costs," unless reflecting the cost of materials and supplies, should have not revealed significant differences.

"Clothes, cosmetics, or toiletries" provided five significant differences in the predicted direction (.05 level or better) and one (.01) in the opposite direction. Of the 240 tests for significance which were performed, it constituted the only significant difference which occurred against prediction.

"Car and insurance, gas" provided five differences at the .05 level or better. "Entertainment, dates" yielded eight differences significant at the .05 level or better. "Records" revealed four differences significant at the .01 and .001 levels. "Saving for the future, college" provided ten differences significant at the .05 level or better, and "books" yielded six differences at the .05 level or better.

In summary, 240 t tests were performed on which predictions had been made. Of these, one operated significantly against the predictions and ninety achieved significance in the predicted direction at the .05 level or better. Twenty additional differences were significant at the .1 level but not at the .05 level. The evidence is convincing that the PD Scale does possess validity of the concurrent variety.

Although construct validity and limited concurrent validity were present, much verification remains to be achieved. Such work should include: (1) attempts to establish the relationship between peer dependency and sociometric measures or trait ratings, (2) securing measures of relationship between peer dependency and the traits measured by personality tests, (3) intensive "case study" of "peer dependent" and "peer independent" subjects similar to those analyses used to validate the F Scale and the "authoritarianism" dimension (Adorno *et al.*, 1950), and (4) securing other data relevant to the environmental circumstances of "peer dependent" and "peer independent" subjects (family income, e. g.).

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In testing the seven hypotheses, three principal techniques were used: correlation, analysis of variance, and the t test for means of samples. To test the significance of the variability of Peer Dependency Scale scores, an analysis of variance using a factorial design with equal replications was employed (Edwards, 1960, p. 175). For this design, the independent variables were sex, grade, and setting with two, four, and four levels respectively. The dependent measure was peer dependency. This resulted in a two by four by four factorial with thirty-six subjects in each of the thirty-two cells. The number of subjects was dictated by the smallest sex by grade by setting cell, and thirty-six subjects were then randomly selected from each of the larger groupings to complete the design with equal replications. Wheatland, the fifth setting, was omitted in these comparisons since its population was small and would have reduced the numbers of subjects in each cell below levels ordinarily required to achieve significance.

The analysis of variance design tested hypotheses I, A and B, and III, A and B. Each of the three major variables (sex, setting, grade) contributed to the variability of peer dependency beyond the .005 level of confidence. Of considerable importance, however, was the fact that no other interactions achieved significance (setting by sex, setting by grade, sex by setting by grade). Thus, interpretation remains relatively straightforwardand uncomplicated, with the independent variables operating singly to affect peer dependency.

Peer Dependency as a Function of Age and Sex

Hypothesis I, A proposed that "peer dependency demonstrates a cyclical effect throughout the period of childhood and adolescence" and that "within a high school sample, it ought to be in greater evidence in the early years . . ." Hypothesis I, B held that "peer culture dependency is more pronounced among males than females." Both were substantiated beyond the .005 level of confidence. The means, which described an age level gradient, appeared as follows:

Group	Mean PD Scale Score
9th grade	188.23
10th grade	180.41
11th grade	175.40
12th grade	166.72

The mean score for females was 171.95 and for males, 183.24. Charted by age and sex, the mean scores appear as Figure 1.

Various other computations offered similar evidence. Using the entire sample, the correlation between age in months and peer

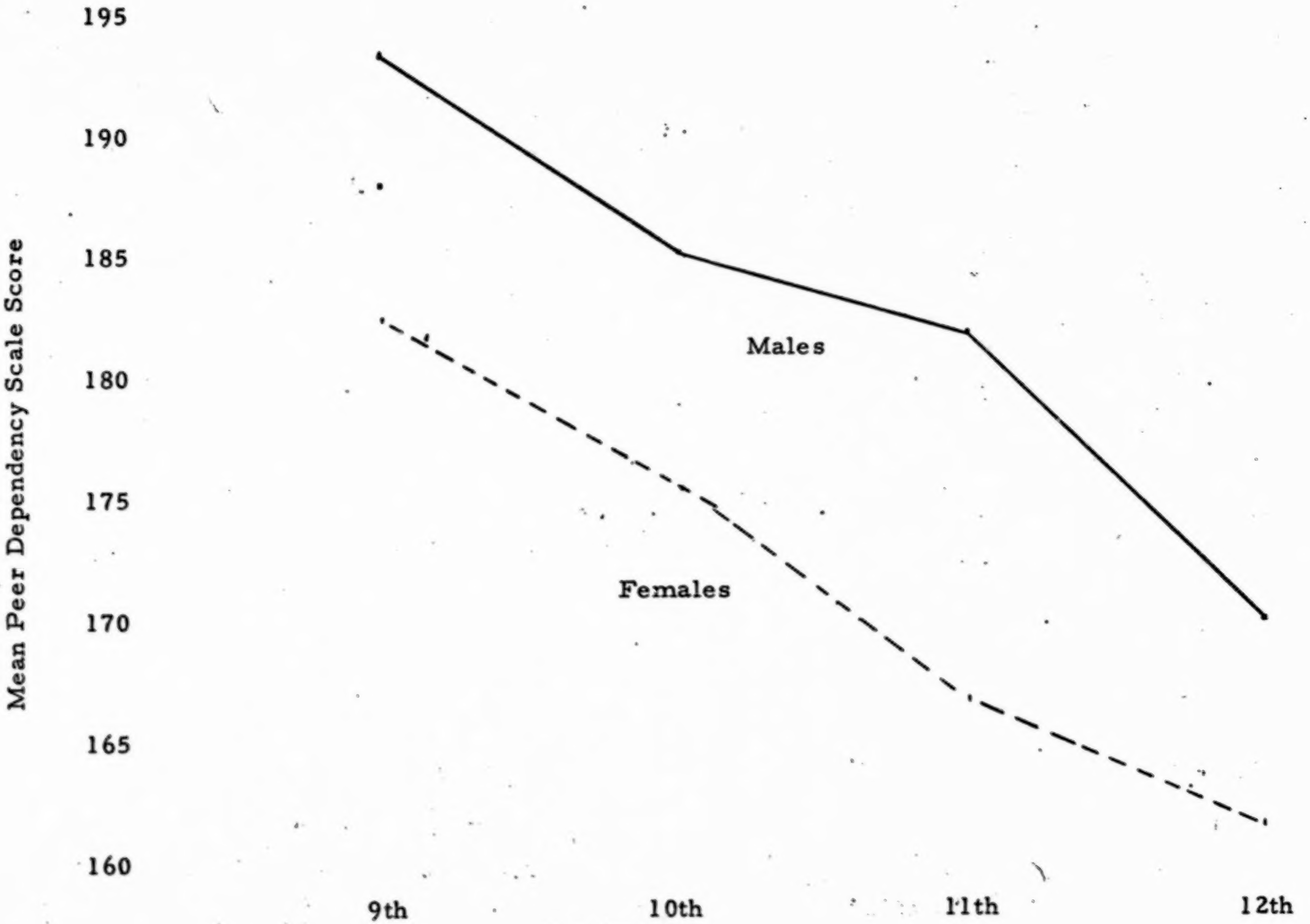

FIGURE 1
PEER DEPENDENCY BY SEX AND GRADE

and summer employment. On the other hand, peer dependent males may earn less than others during summers. In an additional attempt to secure some insight into the matter, "high peer dependent groups" and "low peer dependent groups" at Riverside and Westside Heights High Schools were constituted (the upper and lower 20%) and compared on the same variables. In three of sixteen comparisons the t ratio was significant at the .05 level: peer dependent adolescents were more likely to be employed during the school term. No comparisons of summer earnings achieved significance (Table XXXII, Appendix C). In any event, Hypothesis II, A was rejected, and whatever relationships that may exist are probably tenuous.

Hypothesis II, B, that higher peer dependency was less related to participation in school and community activities, was substantiated at low but significant levels. With three indices, "number of activities," "hours per week spent in activities," and "leadership," the correlations were generally negative and significant (Table V). Of interest was the general tendency for the correlations of the ninth grade group to be of even lesser magnitude. When this is taken together with the observation that peer dependency is increasing among fourteen and fifteen year olds, it suggests that the bases and dimensions of peer culture adherence may be somewhat divergent for these younger adolescents.

Hypothesis II, C, that peer dependency is negatively related to academic achievement and academic aptitude, was also sustained.

TABLE V

CORRELATIONS BY AGE AND SEX BETWEEN PEER DEPENDENCY AND INDICES OF PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Group	Number of activities	Hours per week in activities	"Leader"
9 males	-.11*	-.08	-.02
10 males	-.16*	-.13*	-.14*
11 males	-.16*	-.16*	-.04
12 males	-.18*	-.14*	-.13*
9 females	-.07	.01	-.06
10 females	-.21*	-.14*	-.15*
11 females	-.15*	-.14*	-.12*
12 females	-.11*	-.14*	-.03

*Significant at .05 level or greater.

Intelligence quotients were available from Seaview High School and from seniors at Riverside and Westside Heights; it was on these groups that computations were performed. Each of the twenty-four coefficients was negative and, of these one-half attained significance. Had the twelve groups been treated statistically as one, the two correlations would have been significant (Table VI).

This finding does suggest the alternative explanation that lessened peer dependency is related to intelligence only because brighter subjects rejected more of the PD Scale items. Thus, greater intelligence increases discernment and the propensity to react negatively to the over-generalization inherent in each item. The PD Scale, then, is only a "gullibility" index. As mental age increases, agreement should decrease, and hence "peer dependency" also appears to vary with age. Although quite plausible, this hypothesis fails on almost every other test. For example, if intellectual power alone allowed subjects to "see through" more of the items, then settings where subjects were significantly more "intelligent" should have significantly lesser "peer dependency." This did not occur as documented below:

Group	I. Q.	PD
12 Males, Seaview	103.77	166.08
12 Females, Seaview	103.57	156.05
12 Males, Riverside	102.52	179.99
12 Females, Riverside	103.08	169.61
12 Males, Westside Heights	108.69	176.69
12 Females, Westside Heights	109.09	157.17

TABLE VI

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PEER DEPENDENCY AND INTELLIGENCE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Group	I. Q.	G. P. A.
9 males, Seaview	-.27*	-.36*
10 males, Seaview	-.24	-.23
11 males, Seaview	-.25	-.32*
12 males, Seaview	-.32	-.38*
9 females, Seaview	-.25	-.34*
10 females, Seaview	-.35*	-.35*
11 females, Seaview	-.30*	-.11
12 females, Seaview	-.08	-.28*
12 males, Riverside	-.17	-.39*
12 females, Riverside	-.14	-.09
12 males, Westside Heights	-.18	-.44*
12 females, Westside Heights	-.07	-.11

*Significant at .05 level or greater.

Seaview males had a mean I. Q. nearly five points less than males at Westside Heights (not significant) and at the same time had significantly lesser peer dependency. Females at Westside Heights were significantly more "intelligent" but had no significant difference in peer dependency when compared with females at Seaview. Seaview males and females did not differ significantly in I. Q. from subjects at Riverside, but did differ significantly in peer dependency. Riverside males and Westside Heights males differed significantly in "intelligence" but not in peer dependency. In fact, the only relationship which was supportive was between Riverside females and Westside Heights females.

Clearly, setting and sex were the significant variables in these comparisons, and intelligence as a factor in affecting peer dependency, must operate as a concomitant condition with climate. Thus, by disproving the effect of intelligence as a first order independent variable, whether one cared to see it as providing greater insight into PD Scale items or as greater provision permitting less need of the peer culture, one must now investigate the relationship between intelligence and the climates of the respective settings.

A further observation is also important: at the same moment that mental age is increasing among ninth grade and tenth grade boys, _so also is peer dependency_. Thus, the curve of peer dependency operates inversely to age and intelligence during later years and concomitantly during early years, giving evidence that the PD Scale is not a subtle measure of intelligence. In addition, the analyses of the factor structures undertaken in Chapter IV demonstrated that the qualitative differences by age are at least as important as the quantitative changes which also occur as a consequence of age.

Peer Dependency as Function of Setting

Hypothesis III, A proposed that "peer dependency is less in settings which offer greater provision for employment of adolescents," while B suggested that "peer dependency is greater in settings which prolong economic dependence by expectations of college attendance." Both represent the endeavor to test the effects of milieu or setting in a total sense upon the variable of peer dependence. Differences between these hypotheses and the preceding should determine whether milieu is significant or whether the independent variables operate with freedom across settings.

Setting differences were significant at the .005 level, but not in the directions proposed by the hypothesis:

Setting	Mean PD Scale Score
Valley Center	172.93
Westside Heights	175.50
Seaview	175.70
Riverside	186.63

Although the mean PD Scale Scores ascend with some regularity from the setting with the greatest opportunity for adolescent employment

(Valley Center) to the setting with the least (Riverside), the similarity of the first three settings offers very questionable support for Hypothesis III, A. If opportunity for employment were the significant variable, then Valley Center should have had a markedly discrepant mean score. Similarly, Hypothesis III, B (that the settings which prolonged dependency on parents by college attendance had greater peer dependency) was rejected. Riverside and Seaview, both of which send fewer students to college, particularly to four year colleges, had higher mean scores than Westside Heights from which approximately 85% seek higher education.

Reverting to the level of individual subjects from the setting level, and noting the negative relationship between peer dependency and aptitude and achievement, one would hypothesize that a negative relationship also exists between college attendance and peer dependency (essentially the converse of Hypothesis III, B). This also was sustained; for all subjects the r was -.11 which was significant at the .01 level. The correlations are presented by sex and age in Table VII.

On returning to the observed relationships between peer dependency and setting, the extreme mean score was at Riverside High School, with the other three settings remaining approximately similar. Logically, it makes less sense to analyze the progression of mean scores, and more sense to interpret the significant deviation at Riverside. Socioeconomic characteristics tell most of the story:

TABLE VII

CORRELATIONS BY GRADE AND SEX BETWEEN PEER DEPENDENCY AND THE INTENTION TO ATTEND COLLEGE

Group	Correlation
9 males	-.11*
10 males	-.18*
11 males	-.18*
12 males	-.16*
9 females	-.17*
10 females	-.13*
11 females	-.10*
12 females	-.15*

*Significant at .05 level or greater.

greater extent, were in possession of greater aptitude and more often intended to attend college. Those who had chosen activities did, of course, participate more, but were also more intelligent and earned higher grades. In fact, the relationship between participation in activities and academic achievement was such that it seemed more useful to consider them as constituting a single dimension or vehicle.[1] Both groups were less likely to subscribe to the youth culture. A third modality may well have been isolated; there were also the youth culture adherents who neither achieved nor participated (to the same extent) and may well have used the culture as a vehicle for self-definition in the absence of other more direct routes. A fourth potential route, the world of work, was also investigated. Instead of diluting the peer culture, the amount of adolescent employment appeared to be related to greater investment in youth culture beliefs. Separating cause and effect is, of course, problematic. The peer culture subscriber may work more during the school year to afford the commodities; or, by working more, his achievement and social activity may fall off and so he loses other opportunities for growth; or, because his family income is less, he may need to be employed. One thing is certain: significant employment, either during the summer or during the school term, has little consistent or predictable effect on adherence to the adolescent youth culture.

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[1] The $\underline{r}$ for all subjects between grade point average and number of activities was .50.

How then may the adolescent youth culture be interpreted? Adolescence may be viewed as a time of identity crystallization and synthesis, with bodily growth and sexual drive occurring temporally with increased capacity for relationships for depth and increased demand from society to be productive and responsible. To meet demand from within and without, the ego, as a function and an agent, must secure balance, direction, and purpose to the end that, at the close of adolescence, a young person views himself and is viewed by others as self-directing and autonomous with defined goals and values. To some extent, these ego shifts and syntheses must transpire as the young adolescent wrests or takes responsibility for his activities from conspicuous adults and places it under the auspices of his developing ego. Such a process appears to require an additional step--that of constituting the society of his peers as a mediating agency. For, he seems less able to purchase the ready-made identities of his parents and not yet able to constitute his own (it may be said that achieving identity is an active process). The youth culture contains elements (and fictions) which meet the needs of transition. The group ego encourages conformity and a sort of protective coloration which protects the adolescent ego from risk and extension. Social rating and social exposure offer an arena for role playing and a mirror for self-evaluation; this feedback mechanism is superordinate. A preoccupation with impulse and danger allows for needed experience in knowing the limits and risks of newly developed capacity. Conflict with authority serves the whole by providing feedback as to progress toward autonomy and by securing the needed freedom to experiment. The rigid and stark definitions of masculinity and feminity provide available models and, hence, a measure of comfort. Defining the modes of heterosexual contact reduces ambiguity and assists in limiting impulse. As synthesis is achieved, the youth culture and the society of peers is abandoned in favor of the responsibility of production and reproduction.

Such a process cannot be examined without reference to available avenues within the environment which have value in promoting adolescent ego synthesis. A stable and respectable definition of self seems dependent on provision within the life space: supportive family relationships, achievement (which for adolescents appears to be inextricably related to academic achievement), and social esteem from one's contemporaries. As these are available, the transition is facilitated and use of the youth culture as an "ego bridge" is decreased. However, when absent, the culture of age-mates may remain as the only alternative. The evidence is relatively conclusive. As adolescents have lesser aptitude, lesser achievement, lesser social esteem, lesser social contact, and lesser economic means, they over-value the youth culture. In short, it is those who are on the perimeter observing and not receiving who believe; excessive adherence is related to deprivation.

In psychodynamic terms, this interpretation is not without precedent. The exaggerated and distorted usage of the youth culture by some adolescents seems to reflect their own deflated and damaged ego capacities. A history of coercive or debilitating conditions coupled with a poverty of supportive feedback from the environment, which is met at adolescence by massive internal drive and external demand, produces disorganization. The behavior of this adolescent is identical to those who respond to the extremes of adolescent youth cultism; behavior is characterized by the need for immediate gratification and impulsive outbreak; proving and testing behavior are endless since self-perception is already rooted in defeat; conflict with authority serves the twin needs to "get even" and to "get free." Depending on viewpoint, the youth culture may represent either ego strategy with an eye toward the future or ego defect reflecting the past.

To some extent, it is apparent that most adolescents make use of the youth culture in their growth to maturity. Eighteen year old boys who are extreme in their reliance are quite similar to the modal class of fourteen year old boys; differences are significant only when they are accompanied by a knowledge of the age and sex of the group or individual in question. In general, adherence is less and qualitatively different for girls of high school age than for boys. The peak for girls likely occurs in junior high school, while some groups of boys may still be increasing in their sensitivity to its demands through the fifteenth year. However, once the apex is achieved, regardless of sex, the greater portion of middle adolescence is less subject to its waning effect. Asynchronous development between boys and girls, with boys having a two year deficit, occurs on the youth culture dimension as well as in physical growth. By charting the ascendancy and decline of the youth culture, the issue of whether it constitutes a "discontinuous subculture" or a "continuous non-subculture" becomes irrelevant. Adherence to the youth culture has emerged as a distinct aspect of growth and development and has its lawful season and function. The observation that its constituents develop to resemble their parents appears to be first order evidence that the youth culture effects the transition. By virtue of their departure from adults on some issues, with subsequent conflict, they may come into full maturity; departure and conflict will be intense in the extent to which the environment removes opportunity and to the extent that children bring defective psychic equipment to adolescence. It would do well for social scientists to abandon notions of culture and custom in attempting to account for processes which are developmental. The adolescent youth culture is more than a regression or pause in the developmental time table. It would seem wiser to interpret extremism in cultist behavior as a diagnostic sign in the individual case, rather than as evidence of a wholesale decline in middle class culture or the emergence of some rival culture.

There is no surprise upon noting that youths of different ages and sexes employ the medium differently according to their own needs and society's demands. Boys, regardless of age, emphasized the element of "speed," "risk," "action," and "danger." Mastery of the physical world and securing an estimate of capacity by testing limits appeared to be the need, with the youth culture as the means. Linked to this dimension was separation and conflict with authority. Interpretation remains open as to whether the authority issue is an artifact of indulgence in activity disapproved by adults or whether it represents a separate mastery struggle. Boys of all ages relegated group status and ranking practices to a much lesser role. For girls, the situation was reversed. Risk, danger, and physical mastery were insignificant, while social esteem presumed enormous importance. The youth culture serves girls by offering a social arena in which interpersonal relationships become the crucial issue. These findings are congruent with the Western cultural expectation that males secure dominance and mastery, particularly in the objective physical world as providers, while females become specialists in the interpersonal world which reaches culmination in the rearing of children. It is at this point that cultural accounts and individual psychological explanations merge.

In an absolute sense, males seem to make greater use of the youth culture. It may not be that their needs are greater, so much as that the industrial society is impoverished in its opportunities for adolescent boys. If mastery of the physical world and securing an estimate of one's own competencies in relation to it, are the vital concerns, then boys' needs are going unmet. Western culture meets well the pre-adolescent phase by providing a plethora of summer camps and Little Leagues. However, there is no orderly transition from the summer camp to adult male productivity. Boys may remain "captive" in the American secondary school "preparing" for vocation instead of experiencing it (the Goodman argument). Adolescent boys are neither needed nor wanted on the labor market. The present study, however, failed to find any relationship between productivity and lesser adherence to the peer culture among boys. It might be that the jobs which are presently held do little to enhance self-perception. It is entirely conceivable that sixteen year old paper boys and berry pickers find little appeal in these vocations and use their earnings to placate youth culture appetites. It is possible that adolescent employment no longer serves as an effective vehicle in promoting autonomy, identity, and mastery in the total sense.

Age level trends support further generalizations regarding the meaning of the youth culture. Among younger adolescents of both sexes were indications of concern regarding impulse control. Second order factors appeared which for boys were "safe risk" and for girls, "limited transgression." This finding is generally consistent with those personality theories which possess well-defined impulse systems and phase systems of growth and development. Early adolescence is often viewed as particularly difficult with the recrudescence of early impulse together with powerful new drives and cathexes. With the ego beset by drive and not able to balance control and drive, the youth culture provides an avenue of controlled expression and, at the same moment, raises new fears as to impulse mastery. Older adolescents arranged dimensions quite differently. Among both boys and girls, factors appeared which suggest "personal independence" and "responsibility" titles. In one case, both adult and peer controls were rejected on the same dimension. The similarity with ego psychological principles is apparent, wherein, with maturity comes the installation of autonomy and self-direction in an ego free from compelling internal drive and environmental demand.

These findings are quite at odds with both Coleman's (1961) statistics and interpretations. He asked adolescents how they would prefer to be remembered; the same item was presented in the present study:

then use it to further the ends of adolescent education" (1961, p. 313), and the following:

> One approach is made obvious by the dominant role of interscholastic athletics in the schools studied here . . . Similarly, it is possible to substitute interscholastic (and intramural) competition in scholastic matters for the interpersonal competition for grades which presently exists. Such a substitution would require a revision of the notion that each student's achievement must be continually evaluated or "graded" in every subject. It would make such evaluation infrequent or absent, and subsidiary to contests and games, both within the school (between subgroups) and between schools (1961, p. 320).

No fault is found with the recommendation that onus be removed from individual academic failure. The assumption is made, however, that the criterion behavior is the whole of the matter rather than the underlying motives which create its existence as a symptom. If, by ingenious manipulation of the reward system, intellectual achievement could come into greater esteem (which is doubtful), what of the psychological importance of athletic achievement, of limited conflict, of risk and high activity? These appear not to be accidental products of placing large numbers of adolescents in close proximity, but psychological mechanisms of considerable importance in promoting identity. They are dispensed with as the need for them diminishes. From the present study, it is also known that peer culture subscription is partially a product of deficit motivation. Making scholars conspicuous would seem to heighten the failure of those who do not excel; the non-student would simply become as conspicuous as the non-athlete. Since both the activity leaders and the achievers "phase out" the youth culture at earlier dates, shifting the social rewards would change only the focus without enhancing growth. If "treating the symptoms" rather than understanding their cause and utility is an affront to the ego psychologist, then the affront to the educator is the assumption that knowledge or intellectual activity should be manipulated by baiting, rather than being undertaken because it affords greater competency, self-certainty, and a clearer sense of identity, goal, and purpose.

The latter criticisms point up other limitations in current approaches to understanding the adolescent youth culture: sociologists have attempted to preserve explanations based on culture theory which is not the most useful approach to understanding the dynamic of individual development; economists have oversimplified human motivation to the single dictum that, if packaged and peddled attractively, any commodity can become a need for adolescents; journalists and educators have become alarmed at the conflict which, for some adolescents, is inherent in coming to maturity; this alarm assumes inappropriate learning and the failure to inculcate proper codes of behavior, rather than behavior which is symptomatic of distress and growth; social critics and psychologists with depth orientations, while providing penetrating accounts of psychic dynamic and the limitations of an improvident environment, have failed to verify their propositions by empirical study.

Some Implications for Youth Serving Institutions

Based on the findings that youth culture adherence is more a consequence of deficit conditions, and that it serves as a useful growth medium, the following implications are offered: (1) Adolescence is less a time for the inculcation of society's ways and more a time for the exploration of individual meaning. Children, in most strata of society, are well aware of what behaviors constitute the "right" and the "wrong" and the "good" and the "bad." By rejecting the earlier means of value transmission (parents and adults) in favor of peers, adolescents are not so much rejecting adult values as they are transferring authority into their own ego systems. This transference calls not for restriction, re-training, or "scare" and threat tactics, but for freedom and support for investigation. (2) For most adolescents, some adherence to the youth culture is inevitable and useful to growth. Excessive or prolonged addiction to the society of teen-age equals is a diagnostic sign of growth blockage or fixation as surely as the signs of immaturity which can occur at other stages in life cycle. (3) Provision should be made for the existence of the youth culture, knowing that it will be abandoned with growth. This suggests privacy for adolescents and the separation of adult and adolescent recreation. A fair proportion of the conflict between generations is generated by "rubbing elbows" as each is living out its own motives. It suggests a policy of toleration (and the encouragement) of separate recreational programs. There is precedent for such a move: the national youth serving agencies have long provided programs for preadolescents which are useful for growth in middle childhood (these same programs have been much less appealing to adolescents). Knowing that each age level will meet its needs using appropriate vehicles, adolescents should be allowed their own. There has been extreme suspicion of the "teen-age night club" and the "coffee house" which are recent manifestations of the trend to separate recreation. (4) Educational institutions and social agencies should be cognizant of the tendency for adolescents to participate in social rating and ranking. They should not, in the name of democracy or bad publicity , drive social groups (e.g., high school fraternities and sororities) "underground." The course of wisdom would be to offer sensitive adult leadership which could curb excesses and remove the attractiveness of a forbidden activity. (5) Conflict with authority appears to be a necessary ingredient for some adolescents and particularly for young males. Conflict in the guise of peer group activity may provide for the decisive articulation of identity by giving direct evidence as to the amount of growth and by separating the identity of parent (or parent surrogate) and adolescent. (6) Provision for individual success and self-esteem remain the best guarantees, not against the development of a youth culture, but for the rapid attainment of identity and purpose. The routes are clear and include academic or scholastic success as well as social and task activity. Vocational opportunity as it presently exists is a less certain route for adolescents of high school age.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The existence of a youth culture or adolescent society has been noted and documented by social scientists, social critics, and commentators in contemporary affairs. Over the years several distinct explanations have emerged which have attempted to lend insight regarding its function and effect. Common among sociologists is the observation that industrialization and urbanization have shifted production from the home and farm to the factory, thereby creating the need for additional educational institutions to train the young for productive and responsible roles in society. A youth culture, then, is partially the consequence of age level grouping without the opportunity for productivity and the orderly assumption of responsibility. Various "market" approaches have made more simplistic and behavioristic assumptions: if the youth of today resemble one another to greater extent than they do their parents, it is partially because they can afford to (affluence), have the time, and have been responsive to merchandising techniques, all of which have been enhanced by the mass media. Theorists speaking from the tenets of ego psychology have been more inclined to view the youth culture as a vehicle useful in enhancing psychological growth. If adolescence is a time of uncertainty due to new expectations from society (productivity and responsibility), new bodily events (physical growth and sexual maturity), coupled with the need to define the self and to secure purpose, then the youth culture offers a temporary way-station. Its conformity offers protective coloration, its social ranking practices offer feedback as to competency and role, and its conflict with adults provides opportunity to secure emotional independence. Ultimately, it must be abandoned in favor of autonomy and self-direction.

The adolescent peer culture was examined with an eye toward (1) determining conditions among adolescents which are associated with dependence on, or independence of, the youth culture, thereby (2) determining the function of the culture and relating it to the more general systems of personality growth and development listed above, (3) examining the course of the youth culture over time, and (4) examining the set of societal or environmental conditions which encourages independence and achievement.

A model containing the dimensions of the youth culture was constructed. Adherence included the tendency to view the adolescent years as idyllic and developmentally distinct, the tendency to come into conflict with the usual representatives of societal authority. Within these broad propensities existed a cluster of specific attributes, including the tendency to value social status and to participate in social ranking practices, the tendency to create idiosyncratic subcultural expressions for dance, music, dress, and language, the tendency to value risk and stimulation, and the tendency to devalue academic achievement. From the categories of the model, items were derived and assembled in a Likert attitude scale. Through the various revisions of the Peer Dependency Scale, measures of reliability, homogeneity, and validity were secured. Peer dependency constituted the dependent variable.

The independent variables included age, sex, part-time and summer employment, participation in school and community activities, academic achievement and academic aptitude, and certain community characteristics. The latter included family income level, provision for significant adolescent employment, and proportion of students likely to seek higher education. Research was carried out in five communities which were chosen to offer suitable variation on these socioeconomic characteristics. The subjects were the five student body populations, a total of 3440 subjects. Statistical techniques included analysis of variance, the _t_ test for means, correlation, and factor analysis.

The findings regarding peer culture variation as a function of age and sex were as follows:

1, Adherence to the adolescent peer culture is greater among boys than girls of high school age.

2. Youth culture adherence is negatively related to participation in school activities and to task and social leadership within the high school.

dependency was -.11 (significant at the .01 level). Part of the reason for a somewhat minimal r was the apparent fact that the correlation was not linear; among some groups of ninth grade boys (and tenth grade boys at Valley Center and Riverside), peer dependency was increasing, only to fall off abruptly as the mid-point of time spent in high school was reached. Table III shows mean peer dependency scale scores by grade and sex, and the correlation within each grade level between age in months and peer dependency. Its means are somewhat different (in fact, tenth grade boys are higher than ninth grade boys) from the immediately preceding presentation. This is due, in large part, to the large numbers of Riverside and Westside Heights subjects which tended to obliterate the variations observed among the smaller schools which were preserved in the analysis of variance design. Table III effectively demonstrates that peer dependency is increasing as a function of greater age among ninth grade boys, while there is little if any variation within the other grades.

In summary, adherence to the values of the adolescent youth culture occurs less among girls than boys of high school age. The peak of adherence for girls occurs before high school, while boys may still be increasing in their sensitivity to its demands through the tenth grade. However, once the apex is achieved, regardless of sex, the larger part of the high school experience is less subject to its waning effect. Not only is there asynchronous development between sexes, but

TABLE III

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE IN MONTHS AND PEER DEPENDENCY (WITHIN DISCRETE AGE GROUPS), TOGETHER WITH MEAN PD SCALE SCORES FOR EACH GROUP

Group	r	PD
9 males	.23*	190.98
10 males	-.05	192.13
11 males	-.13*	184.97
12 males	.09	176.20
9 females	-.03	180.90
10 females	-.02	176.05
11 females	-.03	172.98
12 females	.01	163.69

*Significant at .05 level or greater.

comparatively speaking, Riverside fell at the bottom of the rank ordering on the criteria used to evaluate socioeconomic status. The level of income was less, homes were less expensive, educational levels among parents were lower, and the "blue collar" predominated. Although certainly not a "deprived" area in the total sense, it hardly compared to the affluence of Westside Heights or the very prosperous farming communities of Valley Center and Wheatland. Nor did it compare with Seaview with its broader representation of social class; although there was greater diversity in Seaview, as a community, its opportunity and prosperity were more considerable. Peer dependency, then, appeared to vary as a function of opportunity and socioeconomic status.

Additional Correlates of Peer Dependency

Using "high peer dependent" and "low peer dependent" groups (the upper and lower 20%), further differences were also determined. In the choice of high school program, the high peer dependent groups were less likely to have decided on a course of study. High peer dependent boys were more likely to have chosen a vocational course and high peer dependent girls were more likely to have chosen a commercial course. Both groups were much less likely to have chosen college preparatory course. One of the most striking differences between groups was the lesser amount of time spent on homework by high peer dependent groups. An item measuring attitudes toward employment (Coleman, 1961) was included:

> Rank the five items below in terms of their importance to you on a job. (Rank 1 as "most important" to 5 as "least important.")
>
> ______ the security of steady work
> ______ the chance for a rapid rise
> ______ the enjoyment of the work itself
> ______ friendly people to work with
> ______ a high income

Two items yielded significant and consistent differences between groups. High peer dependent groups valued "a high income" to greater extent and "the chance for a rapid rise" to lesser extent than low peer dependent groups. Speculation is interesting. Since high peer dependent adolescents have lower socioeconomic status, it is no surprise to find them valuing income; in fact, the entire syndrome of peer dependency suggests immediate gain and impulse gratification. On the other hand, it is also possible to hold that low peer dependent adolescents (with higher family incomes) have had less exposure to need and, hence, may be less realistic in their evaluation of income. The greater value placed on "rapid rise" supports the former interpretation, however. Low peer dependent groups appear to comprehend the realities of job entry (lower salaries) and be willing to enter a position with greater, but delayed promise. The criterion of "deferred gratification" has appeared to separate the groups. Table XXXV, Appendix C, includes these statistics by sex and age.

Coleman Study (1961, p. 30)

	Boys	Girls
Brilliant student	31.5%	27.9%
Athletic star (boys)	45.1%	
Leader in activities (girls)		37.8%
Most popular	23.4%	34.2%
N	3,690	3,876

Present Study (1965)

	Boys	Girls
Brilliant student	38.3%	36.9%
Athletic star (boys)	48.1%	
Leader in activities (girls)		42.2%
Most popular	14.4%	20.9%
N	1,320	1,447

Scanning the percentages reveals that the scholar choice has apparently improved its image at the expense of the most blatant of the youth culture values -- social status seeking. There are two possible interpretations. The problem of a non-equivalent sample is present, although the Coleman study had virtually no subjects representing the urban upper-lower class. These subjects represented better than 40% of the subjects in the present study and it is likely that, had a population identical to Coleman's been used, the scholar choice would have fared even better. The second alternative suggests a possible attitudinal change over time. Coleman gathered his data in the Spring of 1958, a year and one-half after Sputnik, while the present data were gathered in the Spring of 1966 some eight years later. These seven years witnessed a substantial upgrading of American education and increased numbers of youth attending college. It does seem that the role of the scholar may have become more attractive. Nonetheless, the youth culture also increased in visibility considerably in these same eight years.

There is another much more substantial discrepancy between the studies:

> . . . the social elites of these high schools are less willing to see themselves as engaging in intellectual activity, and find the idea of being seen as "intellectuals" more repugnant, than do those who are outside the leading crowds (Coleman, 1961, p. 245).

This statement was in direct contradiction to present findings. "Leaders" (including class, student body, boys' and girls' club officers, cheerleaders, captains in varsity athletics) demonstrated less willingness to subscribe to the youth culture. They were also more apt to be intelligent, to achieve at greater levels, and to attend college.[2] Taken another way, participation in activities correlated positively with intelligence, achievement, and college attendance.[3] Throughout the present study, it was consistently demonstrated that the outsiders, the "have-nots," were those who over-valued youth culture attributes.

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[2] The correlation between leadership and intelligence was .26, between leadership and grade point average, .50, and between leader- and college attendance, .40.

[3] The *r* between number of activities and intelligence was .34, between activities and grade point average, .50, and between activities and college attendance, .42.

3. Youth culture adherence is negatively related to academic achievement (grade point average) and academic aptitude (intelligence).

4. Youth culture adherence is negatively related to college attendance.

5. Increasing youth culture adherence is associated with decreasing socioeconomic status.

Interpreted, subscription to the adolescent peer culture is related to a triad of conditions; those who accepted the youth culture to greater extent had lesser academic success and more limited educational goals, participated less in adolescent social acitivities and received lesser social recognition, and came from families of lesser socioeconomic status. In short, greater adherence to the youth culture is associated with deficit and deprivation. It may well serve as a substitute vehicle in the attainment of identity for those who cannot avail themselves of other routes; it is those who are on the perimeter, observing and not receiving, who subscribe. The youth culture is not solely the product of clever merchandising techniques or some hedonistic bias among youth. Rather, it is chosen due to psychological need; there are immense individual differences.

The findings with respect to differential qualitative usage of the youth culture by sex and age were as follows:

1. Boys emphasized a dimension suggestive of mastery of the physical world and conflict with authority.

2. Girls emphasized the mastery of social skills and securing group status.
3. Younger adolescents construed items in such a way as to indicate a concern with the control of impulse.
4. Older adolescents arranged items so as to underscore qualities of personal independence and responsibility; not only was the coertion of adults rejected, but also that of peers.

Thus, the qualitative aspects of youth culture adherence were as significant as quantitative change. Adherence to the youth culture is not unitary, but reflects varying needs according to age and sex. These systematic variations are generally congruent with the observations of differential cultural expectations for males and females of differing ages.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SETTING CHARACTERISTICS

TABLE VIII

EMPLOYMENT BY SEX AND SETTING

	Wheatland	Valley Center	Seaview	Riverside	Westside Heights
Males					
Mean total hours employed during present school year	320.47	259.07	265.94	268.70	274.51
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 9th grade	272.03	217.56	75.58	71.72	82.48
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 10th grade	462.84	364.87	146.71	96.54	138.38
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 11th grade	731.25	628.18	188.44	185.43	191.65
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 12th grade	1274.38	929.68	364.46	318.85	343.93
Females					
Mean total hours employed during present school year	220.07	268.01	203.14	243.39	197.98
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 9th grade	58.38	85.04	20.92	55.21	40.93
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 10th grade	89.23	131.60	26.21	70.94	56.19
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 11th grade	174.84	217.49	71.38	90.02	82.25
Mean earnings (in dollars) during summer before 12th grade	421.41	247.29	150.63	133.09	343.93

TABLE IX

HOURS SPENT ON HOMEWORK BY SEX AND SETTING

Item: "How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school? None, or almost none -- less than 1/2 hour a day -- about 1/2 hour a day -- about 1 hour a day -- about 1 1/2 hours a day -- about 2 hours a day -- 3 or more hours a day." (Responses were coded from 1 to 6, "none" to "3 or more hours.")

	Males	Females
Wheatland	2.14	2.96
Valley Center	2.01	2.72
Seaview	2.30	3.38
Riverside	2.08	2.77
Westside Heights	3.16	3.93
Mean of four schools, less Westside Heights	2.13	2.96
Difference between Westside Heights and four schools	1.03	.97
Level of significance	.01	.01
Mean of five schools	2.34	3.15*

*The difference between the mean of boys and the mean of girls was .81 which was significant at the .01 level.

TABLE X

HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULAR CHOICES BY SETTING AND SEX

	Males	Females
Vocational Program		
Wheatland	9.75%	
Valley Center	19.75	
Seaview	15.25	
Riverside	19.75	
Westside Heights	7.00	
College Preparatory		
Wheatland	39.25	35.00
Valley Center	33.25	32.50
Seaview	39.50	37.75
Riverside*	24.50	21.00
Westside Heights*	45.00	43.50

*The differences between Riverside and Westside Heights were 20.5% (for boys) and 22.5% (for girls), both of which were significant at the .01 level.

UPLANDS FORM OF THE PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE

TEEN-AGE ATTITUDE SCALE

In the past few weeks researchers at the University of Washington have gathered the following 100 statements about teen-agers from magazines, books, and newspapers. Most of the statements have been made by teen-agers themselves, while others were made by parents, teachers, judges, youth workers, and other adults. They were found in such magazines as *Time*, *Life*, and in the daily newspapers. The University of Washington and the U.S. Office of Education are interested in seeing what teen-agers themselves think about these important questions.

Please read each statement carefully and decide whether you "strongly agree," "agree on the whole," "agree a little," "disagree a little," " disagree on the whole," or "strongly disagree." Circle your answer on the separate answer sheet.

1. The teen-age world is a world by itself; it is set apart from grown-ups and younger kids, and has its own ways of acting, of thinking, and of talking.

2. If something is troubling a teen-ager, he would get better advice from his friends than from his parents or teachers.

3. Having a group of friends that is unpopular with other kids is better than having no group at all.

4. A teen-ager really should try to keep up with the popular music; otherwise he will be at a disadvantage when he tries to talk with other teen-agers.

5. A working teen-ager should help pay the family grocery bill.

6. In speaking about teen-agers, a parent once said, "Children should be buried at 12 and dug up again when they're 18." This seems to be the way that most adults feel about it.

7. One teen-ager stated that, "Most teen-agers would do something slightly illegal if it were not harmful and if the rest of their group were doing it."

8. Being a very good student may interfere with being popular and well-liked.

9. It is embarrassing to receive a gift of clothing from a friend or relative that is not in the style worn by other teen-agers.

10. Even though boys can be drafted at age 18, the legal age to vote and to drink should be kept at 21.

11. It is necessary to belong to a group in order to have friends and fun.

12. The old saying, "Clothes make the man," is probably true. It is difficult for a teen-ager to get along if he cannot dress in the same style as others.

13. So much of what other kids say seems to be true.

14. A teen-ager shouldn't be seen with those he considers socially inferior.

15. Teen-agers should go their own way, regardless of what their friends say or do.

16. If it were possible, teen-agers should plan their class schedules so as to take classes with their friends.

17. One teen-ager said, "What parents don't know won't hurt them."

18. If they read books at all, teen-agers only read when there is nothing else to do.

19. Teen-agers need the advice of their friends before they try something new or make a big decision.

20. For a girl, it is more important to earn good grades and make Honor Society than it is to be a song leader or a cheer leader.

21. Driving a car gives a person status or popularity.

22. Teen-agers go where their friends go, and do what they do.

23. One teen-ager said, "There is one thing that you can say about adults, and that is that they don't practice what they preach. For example, teen-agers are always warned about the dangers of smoking and yet grown-ups go on smoking anyhow."

24. It is hard to say "no thanks" when the rest of the gang says "come on."

25. Wearing what is comfortable is more important than wearing what is in style.

26. Parents and teen-agers have such different ideas about things that they cannot understand one another.

27. Any way you look at it, being "good looking" is almost the most fortunate thing that could happen to a teen-ager.

28. Staying home in the evenings is for older people.

29. A person should have a large group of friends.

30. Sometimes teen-agers have to make a choice between being liked by teachers and parents, and being liked by other teen-agers. In the long run, it is better to stay with the teachers and parents.

31. One teen-ager said, "It is all right to do things you don't approve of, if everybody does it."

32. Parents should allow their children to follow a reasonable fad.

33. The most important thing about school is that a person meets people his own age.

34. There are good reasons for young people to wear their hair alike, to buy similar clothes, and to like the same music.

35. Most grown-ups are on the side of young people.

36. One teen-age boy said: "All that school seems to be is a great deal of hard work, and for no good reason.

37. Since teen-agers are often frowned upon by adults, they stick together.

38. When his friends make fun of the clothes he wears, a teen-ager ought to select clothes that the others like.

39. Studying hard isn't worth it because too many smart students are not popular and have few friends.

40. It is all right for parents to demand to know where teen-agers are and to know what they are doing.

41. It is not wrong to tell small lies to keep the approval of friends.

42. It is unfortunate that young people have to grow up and take on all the problems of adults.

43. If he were asked to join a popular club, a teen-ager should be flattered and go ahead and join.

44. Athletics and other activities are attractive for boys because they put them in the spotlight with friends and classmates.

45. It is better for young people to save most of their money for further training or for college, than to spend it on records, dates, cars, and clothes.

46. The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are mainly for younger children. They have little to offer that is of interest to teen-agers.

47. It would be better to stay home from a party or sporting event, than to have to take a visiting friend or cousin who might embarrass a person in front of his friends.

48. Teachers don't really know what's going on in the classroom.

49. Fads are important to follow if a teen-ager wishes to maintain his status in his group.

50. Parents should be more strict with their children.

51. Most kids would go out of their way to help a really popular leader with a theme or term paper if they were asked to.

52. A young person ought to check to see what his friends are wearing before the group goes somewhere.

53. For boys, it is more important to be a good athlete than to earn high grades or be popular with teachers.

54. It is hard for a teen-ager to keep the friendship of a person that is not liked by his other friends.

55. A part-time job and some financial independence are more satisfying than being popular and having lots of friends.

56. If someone came looking for a teen-ager when he was away from home and away from school, they would probably find him with friends.

57. There is one reason why a young person should regret graduating from high school: he would probably lose all his long-time friends.

58. One teen-ager said: "At one time or another in growing up, teen-agers have to try some of the things that adults say are wrong, such as smoking or driving a car above speed limits."

59. The more a teen-ager thinks and acts like his friends, the less chance there is of being embarrassed in front of them.

60. Parents are very helpful during the teen years.

61. It is upsetting for a teen-ager to think that he might not be like other teen-agers.

62. No teacher can really know what it means to be a teen-ager.

63. When a teen-ager goes out to buy a large amount of clothing, he really ought to take a couple friends along to help select what looks best on him.

64. Any teen-ager would dislike being called a "teacher's pet."

65. Most policemen are more interested in helping young people with their problems, than in catching them for the things they do wrong.

66. Parents don't understand the language that teen-agers use.

67. The best sort of person to go steady with is one who is popular and successful in school activities.

68. The things that young people do in groups are more fun and more exciting than the things they do by themselves.

69. PTA Magazine said, "If the younger generation is going to the dogs, it's the fault of the adults."

70. It should not be important to a teen-ager to be a member of a popular group.

71. Even though a person believes strongly that something is right, if the rest of the class votes another way, he should go along with them rather than making unnecessary trouble.

72. One teen-ager claimed that most junior high school and high school courses were "dull and boring" and "don't really prepare a person for life."

73. Those who go on to college should try and get into a fraternity or sorority because they would probably have more fun than the others.

74. A "brain" is usually a quiet, rather unpopular person.

75. There is too much concern about dating and going steady among teen-agers; they shouldn't have to think about all thisuntil they are at least juniors in high school.

76. The teen-age years are the best years of our lives; it is a shame that a person couldn't act as if he were 16 or 18 years old all his life.

77. Young people should have their friends around them most of the time.

78. All teen-agers at one time or another wish that they were more popular.

79. Of the things that lead to popularity, beauty for a girl, and taking part in athletics for a boy, are probably among the most important.

80. One of the best ways for a teen-ager to grow up is to find a good adult to copy and to pattern himself after.

81. The best friends to have are those who are liked by other teen-agers.

82. Teen-agers should "talk it over" with some of their friends before making up their minds about going to a dance, party, or sporting event.

83. Parents can't really be pals with their teen-age children.

84. It is difficult for a boy to have friends, and be well-liked if he doesn't have a car, a motorcycle, or a motor scooter by the time he has graduated from high school.

85. It is better for a teen-ager to spend much of his free time by himself with his own activities, than to spend it talking with his friends.

86. One teen-ager said, "You just have to be daring and take risks, or lose face with your group."

87. It would be easier to answer these statements if they could be discussed with a friend or two.

88. Young people are especially interested in speed, "risks," and "going where the action is."

89. It is embarrassing for a teen-ager when he is different from the group.

90. A teen-ager should live according to the rules set by the adult world.

91. If there is any competition in a junior high or high school, it is really for popularity or status rather than for grades or in athletics.

92. One teen-ager has said, "I'm going to raise my kids a lot differently than kids are being raised now."

93. One's popularity can be damaged by associating with someone from the "wrong crowd."

94. No matter what is done about it, there are bound to be problems between parents and their teen-age children.

95. It is not right for a teen-ager to cross a street against the light, to speed, or to break the law on other minor matters when the rest of the kids are doing it.

96. It is possible to have fun and still completely obey parents.

97. The social pressures for teen-agers are enough to get anyone down -- pressures to be popular, to dress like the others, and to think the same thoughts.

98. Since parents understand so many things, a person should look to them instead of to his friends for understanding.

99. A teen-ager's most important responsibility is to live up to his potentialities, rather than to seek popularity.

100. Grown-ups seem to have more sympathy than friends do.

FORM 6 OF THE PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE

TEEN-AGE ATTITUDE SCALE

In the past few weeks researchers at the University of Washington have gathered the following 30 statements about teen-agers from magazines, books, and newspapers. Most of the statements have been made by teen-agers themselves, while others were made by parents, teachers, judges, youth workers, and other adults. They were found in such magazines as Time, Life, and in daily newspapers. The University of Washington and the U.S. Office of Education are interested in seeing what teen-agers themselves think about these important questions.

Please read each statement carefully and decide whether you "strongly agree," "agree on the whole," "agree a little," "disagree a little," "disagree on the whole," or "strongly disagree." Circle your answer on the separate answer sheet. Please do not write in this booklet.

1. The teen-age world is a world by itself; it is set apart from grown-ups and younger kids, and has its own ways of acting, of thinking, and of talking.

2. If something is troubling a teen-ager, he would get better advice from his friends than from his parents or teachers.

3. A teen-ager really should try to keep up with the popular music; otherwise he will be at a disadvantage when he tries to talk with other teen-agers.

4. It is embarrassing to receive a gift of clothing from a friend or relative that is not in the style worn by other teen-agers.

5. Even though boys can be drafted at age 18, the legal age to vote and to drink should be kept at 21.

6. It is necessary to belong to a group in order to have friends and fun.

7. A teen-ager shouldn't be seen with those he considers socially inferior.

8. If it were possible, teen-agers should plan their class schedules so as to take classes with their friends.

9. If they read books at all, teen-agers only read when there is nothing else to do.

10. Wearing what is comfortable is more important than wearing what is in style.

11. Driving a car gives a person status or popularity.

12. Teen-agers go where their friends go, and do what they do.

13. Parents and teen-agers have such different ideas about things that they cannot understand one another.

14. Any way you look at it, being "good looking" is almost the most fortunate thing that could happen to a teen-ager.

15. Most grown-ups are on the side of young people.

16. The most important thing about school is that a person meets people his own age.

17. There are good reasons for young people to wear their hair alike, to buy similar clothes, and to like the same music.

18. Staying at home in the evenings is for older people.

19. When his friends make fun of the clothes he wears, a teen-ager ought to select clothes that the others like.

20. It is possible to have fun and still completely obey parents.

21. Studying hard isn't worth it, because too many smart students are not popular and have few friends.

22. If he were asked to join a popular club, a teen-ager should be flattered and go ahead and join.

23. The Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are mainly for younger children; they have little to offer that is of interest to teen-agers.

24. It would be better to stay home from a party or sporting event, than to have to take a visiting friend or cousin who might embarrass a person in front of his friends.

25. Parents should be more strict with their children.

26. Fads are important to follow if a teen-ager wishes to maintain his status in his group.

27. For boys, it is more important to be a good athlete than to earn high grades or be popular with teachers.

28. It is hard for a teen-ager to keep the friendship of a person that is not liked by his other friends.

29. There is one reason why a young person should regret graduating from high school: he would probably lose all his long-time friends.

30. Parents are very helpful during the teen years.

31. The more a teen-ager thinks and acts like his friends, the less chance there is of being embarrassed in front of them.

32. One teen-ager said: "At one time or another in growing up, teen-agers have to try some of the things that adults say are wrong, such as smoking or driving a car above speed limit."

TABLE XI

PROPORTION OF COLLEGE EXPENSE PROVIDED BY PARENTS BY SEX AND SETTING

Item: "About what percentage of your college education do you expect that your family or relatives will pay for? -- none -- 25% -- 50% - 75% -- 100%." (Responses were coded from 0 to 4, "none" to "100%.")

	Males	Females
Wheatland	1.64	2.57
Valley Center	1.82	2.46
Seaview	1.95	2.34
Riverside	2.07	2.08
Westside Heights	2.32	2.50
Difference between Riverside and Westside Heights	.25	.42
Level of significance	.05	.05

TABLE XII

MOBILITY BY SEX AND SETTING

Item: "Have you ever been to . . . .
New York ______Yes ______No
Chicago ______Yes ______No
Los Angeles ______Yes ______No
(Responses were coded from 0 to 3, with 0 representing no "Yes" choices, 3 representing all "Yes" choices.)

	Males	Females
Wheatland	0.65	0.39
Valley Center	.54	.41
Seaview	.57	.53
Riverside	.72	.65
Westside Heights	1.16	1.01
Difference between Riverside and Westside Heights	.44	.36
Level of significance	.001	.001

33. No teacher can really know what it means to be a teen-ager.

34. The things that young people do in groups are more fun and more exciting than the things they do by themselves.

35. Most policemen are more interested in helping young people with their problems, than in catching them for the things they do wrong.

36. The best sort of person to go steady with is one who is popular and successful in school activities.

37. Parents don't understand the language that teen-agers use.

38. Even though a person strongly believes that something is right, if the rest of the class votes another way, he should go along with them rather than making unnecessary trouble.

39. One teen-ager claimed that most junior high and high school courses were "dull and boring" and "don't really prepare a person for life."

40. Those who go on to college should try and get into a fraternity or sorority because they would probably have more fun than the others.

41. A "brain" is usually a quiet, rather unpopular person.

42. The teen-age years are the best years of our lives; it is a shame that a person couldn't act as if he were 16 or 18 years old all of his life.

43. The best friends to have are those who are liked by other teen-agers.

44. Teen-agers should "talk it over" with some of their friends before making up their minds about going to a dance, party, or sporting event.

45. Parents can't really be pals with their teen-age children.

46. It is difficult for a boy to have friends, and to be well-liked, if he doesn't have a car, a motorcycle, or a motor scooter by the time he has graduated from high school.

47. One teen-ager said: "You just have to be daring and take risks, or lose face with your group."

48. Young people are especially interested in "speed," "risks," and "going where the action is."

49. It is embarrassing for a teen-ager when he is different from the group.

50. It would be easier to answer these statements if they could be discussed with a friend or two.

TABLE XIV

INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS ON FORM A OF THE PD SCALE

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
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50	.13	.11	.14	.10	-.02	.10	.10	.13	.09	.07	.10	.12	.13	.16	.08	.10	.14	.15	.17	.03	.11	.12	.03	.16	.04	.19	.13	.10	.13	.03	.15	.08	.14	.16	.06	.12	.12	.14	.07	.11	.14	.15	.19	.20	.03	.11	.17	.16	.18	

there also appear to be age differences which are functions of climates in individual high schools.

Peer Dependency as a Function of Employment, Activity, and Academic Aptitude and Achievement

These hypotheses tested the relationship between peer dependency and various measures of participation in the social and task milieu of the adolescent. Hypothesis II, A suggested that lesser peer culture dependency is related to " . . . greater investment in part-time and summer employment;" Hypothesis II, B proposed that " . . . lesser identification with the adolescent peer culture is positively related to greater participation in school and community activities . . . ;" Hypothesis II, C held that " . . . higher academic achievement and aptitude are related to lesser identification with the peer culture . . . "

Hypothesis II, A, having to do with employment, is likely rejected, and, at best, confounded to the extent that interpretation is nearly impossible. The various indices correlated with peer dependency were "number of hours employed during school year" and the earnings in dollars during summer vacations. The correlations are presented in Table IV. For both males and females, it appeared as if peer dependent adolescents were more likely to be found employed during the school term than those who demonstrated relative independence of the youth culture; this same relationship may hold for females

TABLE IV

CORRELATIONS BY SEX AND AGE BETWEEN PEER DEPENDENCY AND INDICES OF EMPLOYMENT

	Hours worked during school year	Earnings: summer 9th gd.	Earnings: summer 10th gd.	Earnings: summer 11th gd.	Earnings: summer 12gd.
9 males	.11*	-.20*			
10 males	.03	.03	.05		
11 males	.02	-.06	-.04	-.10	
12 males	.05	-.05	-.05	-.07	-.07
9 females	.09*	.06			
10 females	.13*	.07	.11*		
11 females	.15*	.02	.04	.06	
12 females	-.02	.00	.01	-.06	-.09

*Significant at .05 level or greater.

A Profile of Youth Culture Adherence

Adolescent youth culture attributes were defined to include the tendency to view the adolescent years as idyllic and developmentally distinct, the tendency to constitute age-mates as a reference group for decision making and for the generation of codes of behavior, and the tendency to come into conflict with the usual representatives of societal authority. Within these broad propensities existed a cluster of specific attributes, including the tendency to value social status and to participate in social ranking practices, the tendency to create idiosyncratic subcultural expressions for dance, music, dress, and language, the tendency to value risk and stimulation, and the tendency to devalue academic achievement. Judgmentally, the above attitudes reflect a preference for the worldly and the material, compromise with principle, individual gain, and conformity to the mass; these attitudes are taken in favor of the ideal, individual integrity and responsibility, social justice and equality, and worthwhile individual achievement. When these dimensions were combined into an attitude scale, responses did relate to one another and to a composite total, which served to demonstrate the unidimensionality and internal cohesiveness of the adolescent youth culture.

Environmental correlates of adolescent youth culture adherence pointed to a triad of associated conditions. Those who subscribed to the culture to greater extent had lesser academic success and more limited educational goals, participated less in adolescent social activities and received lesser social recognition, and came from families of lower socioeconomic status. From an educational point of view, they (1) had lower grade point averages, (2) had lower intelligence quotients, (3) were less likely to attend college (4) were more like to have chosen vocational (boys) and commercial (girls) programs of study, (5) were more uncertain as to the choice of a high school program, and (6) studied less. Socially, they (1) participated in fewer school and community activities both of task and social nature, (2) spent less time in these activities, and (3) were less likely to be designated for positions of task or social leadership by their peers. Economically, they (1) were more likely to come from settings which contained large lower-social-class elements, and, (2) in other settings, were likely to represent the more disadvantaged groups. The emergent picture of adolescent youth culture adherence strongly suggests deficit and compensation.

Interpretation

Of the various modalities available to adolescents for significant impact on the environment and subsequent self-definition, two have been traditionally listed; academics and social activities. In the present study, those adolescents who had chosen academics did achieve to

Coleman's data also revealed the greater participation in activities, higher achievement, and higher level of college attendance among his "social elites." How can these same prominent individuals achieve, yet appear to devalue sholastic achievement? There appear to be several possible explanations. Coleman's "athletes," "students," "ladies' men," "elites," *etc.*, were chosen by the nominations of their peers, i.e., by reputation tests or trait ratings. The bias and "halo effect" inherent in this technique have been well established in previous research. By nominating an adolescent as "best student," a stereotype is tapped, and by virtue of choice, athletes or youngsters who take part in activities and *are also achievers*, go unchosen. While this technique is excellent for locating stereotypes and relative preference for one or another, it is not as useful in describing individuals. In fact, Coleman isolated a group of "athlete-scholars" who garnered even more esteem than his athletes. It seems possible to reinterpret the data to say that when academics are chosen as the only avenue, and when this is clearly perceived as the same by other adolescents, it offends sufficient other youth culture dimensions as to incur disfavor. Thus the partialization inherent in the trait rating may have created a group of "scholars" and slighted others who achieved elsewhere and were also "scholarly." It is also possible that those who are athletic, active, and leaders (and who, parenthetically, do achieve at higher levels) will tend to disapprove of academic achievement as the only alternative.

A different method of determining peer culture dependency may also have contributed to other differences. The PD Scale assessed attitudes, while Coleman measured some direct behavior. For example, he found his elites more likely to own cars (1961, p. 128). The point remains that the elites by virtue of social class background were better able to afford cars.

All things considered, Coleman's "elites" and the "leaders" in the present study did perceive the youth culture differently. Whether this was a consequence of time passage and attitudinal change, stereotypy resulting from trait ratings, or a more valid and comprehensive measure of youth culture adherence in the present study, cannot be determined. The paradox of scholastic achievement and devaluation of academics among leaders did not occur in this study as it did in Coleman's.

Nor was the puzzle of an "Executive Heights" encountered in the present study. Coleman was most perplexed by this upper-middle-class suburb which placed academic achievement in an uncommonly minimal position (1961, p. 76). Westside Heights presented an analogous situation in which peer culture adherence was much less than in disadvantaged settings. Thus, the argument that college attendance, by creating prolonged dependency on the parental family, enhanced the problems of identity, was effectively discounted.

By far the gravest defect in the Coleman study resided in his recommendations " . . . to take the adolescent society as given, and

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TABLE XIII

PERCENTAGES OF INVALIDATED QUESTIONNAIRES BY SETTING

	"not taking part"	Incomplete	Facetious	Total
Wheatland	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Valley Center	.7	0	0	.7
Seaview	1.7	0	0	1.7
Riverside	1.3	1.4	.5	3.2
Westside Heights	0.8	2.1	0.2	3.1

APPENDIX B

PD SCALES AND RELATED STATISTICS

TABLE XV

FACTOR I: SOCIAL STATUS*

	Item	Intercorrelation									Factor Loading
		36	43	40	22	6	7	3	34	14	
36.	"The best sort of person to go steady with . . ."										.58
43.	"The best friends to have are those who are liked . . ."	.33									.56
40.	" . . . try and get into a fraternity or sorority . . ."	.26	.23								.52
22.	" . . . join a popular club . . ."	.26	.24	.28							.48
6.	"It is necessary to belong to a group . . ."	.21	.21	.22	.21						.46
7.	" . . . (not) be seen with . . . socially inferior."	.18	.25	.19	.11	.21					.45
3.	" . . . should try to keep up with . . . music . . ."	.21	.21	.21	.18	.20	.21				.40
34.	" . . . groups are more . . . "	.18	.24	.22	.24	.21	.14	.17			.39
14.	" . . . being 'good looking' (is fortunate) . . ."	.25	.24	.25	.22	.18	.22	.23	.20		.36
19.	" . . . select clothes that the others like."	.25	.26	.24	.24	.22	.21	.24	.17	.25	.33

*Factor I accounted for 15.6% of the variance.

TABLE XVI

FACTOR II: AUTHORITY ALIENATION*

		Intercorrelation					Factor
	Item	15	35	30	20	25	Loading
15.	"Most grown-ups are on the side of young people."						.69
35.	" . . . (policemen help) young people . . ."	.24					.55
30.	"Parents are very helpful during the teen years."	.31	.23				.51
20.	"It is possible to have fun . . . obey parents."	.19	.17	.26			.40
25.	"Parents should be more strict with their children."	.18	.15	.20	.19		.39

*Factor II accounted for 4.6% of the variance.

TABLE XVII

FACTOR III: NON-COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GENERATIONS*

		Intercorrelation						Factor
	Item	37	1	13	42	48	34	Loading
37.	"Parents don't understand the language . . ."							.62
1.	" . . . teen-age world is . . . by itself . . ."	.20						.54
13.	" . . . cannot understand one another."	.29	.25					.52
42.	"The teen-age years are the best years . . ."	.15	.17	.17				.37
48.	" . . . interested in 'speed,' 'risks' . . ."	.20	.19	.23	.19			.33
34.	" . . . groups are more fun . . . "	.12	.15	.18	.17	.17		.30

*Factor III accounted for 3.0% of the variance.

TABLE XVIII

FACTOR IV: CONFORMITY TO SUBCULTURAL SYMBOLS*

		Intercorrelation				Factor
	Item	12	4	11	3	Loading
12.	" . . . go where their friends go . . ."					.60
4.	" . . . clothing from a friend or relative . . ."	.15				.51
11.	"Driving a car gives . . . status . . ."	.24	.13			.44
3.	" . . . should try to keep up with . . . music . . ."	.13	.20	.20		.31

*Factor IV accounted for 2.6% of the variance.

TABLE XIX

FACTOR V: LOCOMOTORIST INTOXICATION*

	Item	Intercorrelation 46	47	48	11	26	27	Factor Loading
46.	" . . . to have friends . . . have a car . . ."							.62
47.	" . . . 'You just have to be daring . . .' "	.35						.62
48.	" . . . interested in 'speed,' 'risks' . . ."	.19	.34					.49
11.	"Driving a car gives . . . status . . ."	.22	.23	.21				.45
26.	"Fads are important to follow . . ."	.23	.29	.27	.27			.41
27.	" . . . important to be a good athlete . . ."	.19	.25	.20	.18	.31		.36

*Factor V accounted for 2.6% of the variance.

TABLE XX

FACTOR VI: AVOIDANCE OF LOSS OF GROUP ESTEEM*

	Item	Intercorrelation			Factor Loading
		28	49	29	
28.	" . . .(be friends with one who is disliked) . . ."				.57
49.	" . . . embarrassing . . . when he is different . . ."	.22			.47
29.	" . . . regret graduating from high school . . ."	.13	.13		.43

*Factor VI accounted for 2.4% of the variance.

TABLE XXI

FACTOR VII: TABOOED PLEASURES*

	Item	Intercorrelation				Factor Loading
		5	32	25	39	
5.	" . . . legal age to vote and to drink . . . "					.62
32.	" . . .' . . . try . . . things . . . such as smoking . . .'"	.18				.57
25.	"Parents should be more strict with their children."	.18	.13			.34
39.	" . . . school courses . . . 'dull and boring' . . ."	.14	.18	.10		.31

*Factor VII accounted for 2.3% of the variance.

TABLE XXII

FACTOR VIII: ANTI-ACADEMIC ORIENTATION*

	Item	Intercorrelation 21	23	41	39	24	9	33	Factor Loading
21.	" . . . too many smart students are not popular . . ."								.57
23.	" . . . Scouts are . . . for younger children . . ."	.18							.49
41.	"A'brain' is . . . unpopular . . ."	.27	.18						.49
39.	" . . . school courses . . . 'dull and boring' . . ."	.20	.20	.17					.46
24.	" . . . (avoid event due to embarrassing friend) . . ."	.19	.25	.21	.13				.42
9.	" . . . only read when there is nothing else to do."	.17	.16	.19	.11	.07			.38
33.	"No teacher can really know . . . a teen-ager."	.20	.20	.17	.17	.18	.13		.36

*Factor VIII accounted for 2.2% of the variance.

TABLE XXVII

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE FOR NINTH GRADE MALES AT RIVERSIDE HIGH SCHOOL

Factor	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	37	.73	10	.69	30	-.59	12	.84	9	.76	17	.68	38	.61	33	.78	40	.65
	36	-.53	19	.68	3	.55	18	.30	21	.67	42	.55	27	-.44	35	.51	16	.61
	39	.25	46	.54	48	.48	49	.30	6	.38	39	.47	31	.42	21	.30	6	.47
	48	.25	5	.36	35	-.35			50	.37	20	-.36	32	-.34			7	.35
	10	-.25	35	.34	11	.34			41	.34								
	13	.22	26	.31	42	.33			43	.32								
	32	.22																
	47	.21																
Variance	14.58%		5.18%		4.26%		3.85%		3.74%		3.32%		3.34%		3.19%		2.98%	

TABLE XXVII (Continued)

Factor	X		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
			1	.77			8	.78			24	.70			22	.72
	29	.78			4	.78			15	.73			44	.82		
			45	.57			5	.50			23	.63			14.	.49
	49	.50			14	.34			2	.43			50	.39		
			13	.54			26	.49			7	.45			34	.49
	2	.35			49	.32			25	.39			25	-.38		
			18	.43			39	.48			28	.45			2.	.43
	14	-.35							14	.38						
			28	.40			50	.34			47	.33			11	.35
									3	.31						
			43	.40			36	.31			31	.31				
			32	.38			46	.30								
			47	.32												
Variance	2.87%		2.57%		2.68%		2.43%		2.59%		2.44%		2.21%		2.24%	

TABLE XXVIII

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE FOR TWELFTH GRADE MALES AT WESTSIDE HEIGHTS HIGH SCHOOL

Factor	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	47	.77	35	.78	38	-.77	5	.86	20	.73	7	.88	4	-.65	16	.82	22	.80
	33	.67	15	.71	37	.59	25	-.41	10	.60	3	.63	30	.59	13	.76	43	.60
	46	.65	25	.49	44	.48	21	.36	45	.44	43	.35	18	.39	3	.33	14	.55
	40	.46	45	.45	50	.35			41	.35	24	.33	12	-.33			49	.55
	39	.45	32	.44	32	.32			1	.34	40	.32	32	-.30			19	.49
	41	.38							6	.32	29	.30					36	.47
	18	.36															23	.43
	11	.35															40	.41
	26	.35															44	.39
	48	.32																
	1	.31																
	13	.31																
	45	.31																
	12	.30																
Variance	14.36%		6.96%		5.52%		4.76%		4.27%		4.07%		3.94%		3.67%		3.37%	

TABLE XXVIII (Continued)

Factor	X		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	9	.79	2	.75	27	.75	49	.43	31	.72	17	.66	34	.76	8	.87
	6	-.52	21	.53	24	.60	29	.39	42	.54	28	.58	39	.53	17	.33
	36	.52	50	.39	26	.56	33	-.35	48	.43	44	-.36	12	.35	42	-.32
	11	.36	25	.37	37	.43	41	.34	32	.39	14	-.34	50	.34	24	.30
					14	.38	1	-.33	11	.33	40	.30	19	.33		
					15	.31	3	-.31					30	.32		
													31	.32		
Variance		3.12%		3.38%		2.87%		2.66%		2.64%		2.33%		2.16%		2.30%

TABLE XXIX

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE FOR NINTH GRADE FEMALES AT RIVERSIDE HIGH SCHOOL

	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII	
Factor	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	9	.72	30	.78	38	.80	35	.74	49	.69	37	.13	40	.76	1	.81
	16	.64	20	.50	19	.44	32	.38	7	.61	13	.59	41	.52	8	.33
	2	.34	2	.39	32	-.41	31	-.36	4	.49	50	.57	23	.38	6	.29
	27	.27	27	.36	8	.31			34	.30	47	.32	43	.35		
	4	.26	24	.33	6	.30							34	.33		
	21	.25	26	.30												
Variance		17.50%		4.47%		3.98%		3.60%		3.50%		3.20%		3.06%		2.86%

TABLE XXIX (Continued)

Factor	IX		X		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	45	.74	5	.78	46	.60	12	.74	29	.82	44	.86	25	.68	33	.76	14	.69
	36	.44	39	.46	47	.59	11	.70	24	.32	43	.29	34	.48	28	.41	6	.37
	21	.34			21	.58	36	.47					10.	.37			18	.33
	20	.32			27	.45	26	.46					32	.30				
							48	.43										
	43	.30			48	.39												
					13	.34												
	22	.30																
Variance	2.70%		2.54%		2.46%		2.36%		2.34%		2.16%		2.10%		2.06%		2.00%	

TABLE XXX

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF PEER DEPENDENCY SCALE FOR TWELFTH GRADE FEMALES AT WESTSIDE HEIGHTS HIGH SCHOOL

Factor	I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Lodding	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	26	.70	33	.69	4	.70	16	.74	20	.79	8	.69	21	.82	17	.79	35	.84
	31	.67	45	.68	10	.59	29	.65	12	-.55	11	.56	13	.66	46	-.40	15	.43
	22	.63	30	.59	38	.45	41	.48	25	.37	3	.40	9	.45	48	-.36	39	.42
	1	.58	37	.57	49	.32	42	.45	38	-.35	42	-.35	14	.42	39	-.34	24	.41
	34	.38	15	.35	9	-.31	46	.33			9	.30	3	.32				
	11	.36	23	.35														
	36	.36	39	.34														
	43	.34	24	.33														
	42	.32																
Variance	14.97%		6.50%		5.53%		4.62%		4.37%		4.10%		3.69%		3.66%		3.36%	

TABLE XXX (Continued)

Factor	X		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII	
	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading	Item	Factor Loading
	18	.83			7	.79			19	.73			5	.83		
			32	.79			50	.82			6	.79			44	.79
	2	.48			43	.50			40	.35			28	.51		
			49	.52			42	.32			23	.52			11	.41
	22	.46			36	.47			31	.32			25	.50		
			2	-.33							24	.52			47	.41
	34	.46			40	.45							40	.43		
			24	-.33							27	.52			43	.40
	48	.44			3	.39							23	.33		
											15	-.39			46	.34
	14	.31			38	.37							47	.33		
											49	.35			14	.31
	40	.31														
	13	.30													30	-.31
															37	.31
Variance	3.12%		3.03%		2.79%		2.82%		2.60%		2.39%		2.07%		2.09%	

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
"good personality"								
9 Male	1.88	1.54	.34	n.s.*	1.56	1.42	.14	n.s.
10 Male	1.52	1.57	.05	n.s.	1.41	1.38	.03	n.s.
11 Male	1.44	1.28	.16	n.s.	1.21	1.37	.16	n.s.
12 Male	1.72	1.38	.34	n.s.	1.36	1.19	.17	n.s.
9 Female	1.38	1.53	.15	n.s.	1.40	1.37	.03	n.s.
10 Female	1.23	1.52	.29	n.s.	1.60	1.30	.30	n.s.
11 Female	1.68	1.46	.22	n.s.	1.37	1.17	.20	n.s.
12 Female	1.41	1.39	.02	n.s.	1.28	1.00	.28	.1
"liked by teachers"								
9 Male	4.65	4.00	.65	.05	4.40	4.25	.15	n.s.
10 Male	4.52	4.50	.02	n.s.	4.41	4.34	.07	n.s.
11 Male	4.44	4.28	.16	n.s.	4.74	4.47	.27	n.s.
12 Male	4.24	4.52	.28	n.s.	4.85	4.69	.16	n.s.
9 Female	4.44	4.08	.36	n.s.	4.71	4.14	.57	.01
10 Female	4.60	4.19	.41	.1	4.60	4.65	.05	n.s.
11 Female	4.35	4.09	.26	n.s.	4.88	4.28	.60	.1
12 Female	4.51	4.17	.34	.1	4.83	4.44	.39	n.s.

*not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
"How much do you spend on clothes per month on the average?" (Four choices from "less than $5" to "more than $25" which were coded from 1 to 4 .								
9 Male	1.94	1.71	.23	n.s.*	1.68	1.49	.19	n.s.
10 Male	1.78	1.39	.39	.05	1.86	1.75	.11	n.s.
11 Male	2.21	1.69	.52	.02	1.85	1.81	.04	n.s.
12 Male	1.97	1.87	.10	n.s.	1.50	1.50	.00	n.s.
9 Female	2.02	1.60	.42	.05	2.09	1.64	.45	.01
10 Female	2.06	1.71	.35	.1	2.14	1.95	.19	n.s.
11 Female	2.29	1.53	.76	.001	2.16	2.42	.26	n.s.
12 Female	2.05	1.82	.23	n.s.	2.00	2.33	.33	n.s.
"Do you own a car, or have one that you call your own?" (coded 1 if yes, 0 if no)								
9 Male	.18	.03	.13	.1	.09	.10	.01	n.s.
10 Male	.23	.22	.01	n.s.	.07	.04	.03	n.s.
11 Male	.32	.29	.03	n.s.	.45	.29	.16	n.s.
12 Male	.47	.47	.00	n.s.	.38	.19	.19	n.s.
9 Female	.00	.02	.02	n.s.	.00	.00	.00	n.s.
10 Female	.03	.06	.03	n.s.	.00	.00	.00	n.s.
11 Female	.13	.21	.08	n.s.	.21	.11	.10	n.s.
12 Female	.18	.13	.05	n.s.	.22	.17	.05	n.s.

*not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
"Teen-agers use their money in many ways. Rank these as to how much you estimate you spent on each in the past school year. 1 would be for the most money spent, 7 for the least."								
"clothes, cosmetics or toiletries"								
9 Male	2.60	3.12	.52	n.s.*	2.82	3.55	.73	.05
10 Male	2.59	2.60	.01	n.s.	3.00	3.39	.39	n.s.
11 Male	2.84	3.44	.60	n.s.	3.94	2.74	1.20	.01+
12 Male	3.18	3.43	.25	n.s.	3.31	3.69	.38	n.s.
9 Female	1.24	2.25	1.01	.01	1.36	2.41	1.05	.001
10 Female	1.21	1.60	.39	n.s.	1.60	1.70	.10	n.s.
11 Female	1.36	2.41	1.05	.001	2.40	1.79	.61	n.s.
12 Female	1.70	1.97	.27	n.s.	1.24	2.14	.90	.05
"car and insurance, gas"								
9 Male	4.27	5.88	1.61	.1	5.36	6.18	.82	.05
10 Male	3.23	5.08	1.85	.01	5.18	5.91	.73	n.s.
11 Male	4.12	4.07	.05	n.s.	3.22	4.89	1.67	.05
12 Male	2.18	4.64	2.46	.001	3.85	5.00	1.15	n.s.
9 Female	5.86	6.09	.23	n.s.	6.10	6.57	.47	n.s.
10 Female	6.04	6.20	.16	n.s.	6.20	5.90	.30	n.s.
11 Female	5.67	5.91	.24	n.s.	5.93	6.79	.86	.05
12 Female	5.33	5.83	.50	n.s.	5.41	6.21	.80	n.s.

* not significant at .1 level.

+ This comparison yielded the only significant difference in the opposite direction from that predicted.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
				"entertainment, dates"				
9 Male	2.20	3.77	1.57	.01	2.58	3.31	.73	.05
10 Male	2.48	2.40	.04	n. s. *	1.82	3.30	1.48	.01
11 Male	1.88	2.85	.97	.05	2.94	3.00	.06	n. s.
12 Male	2.18	3.07	.91	.02	1.54	2.19	.65	.1
9 Female	3.45	4.44	.99	.02	2.90	3.98	1.08	.01
10 Female	3.04	3.64	.60	n. s.	3.25	2.90	.35	n. s.
11 Female	2.78	3.22	.44	n. s.	2.87	3.00	.13	n. s.
12 Female	2.70	3.78	1.08	.01	3.53	3.36	.17	n. s.
				"records"				
9 Male	3.73	4.58	.85	n. s.	4.36	5.43	1.07	.001
10 Male	4.48	5.40	.92	n. s.	4.05	4.78	.73	n. s.
11 Male	4.84	5.30	.46	n. s.	4.72	5.26	.54	n. s.
12 Male	5.45	5.46	.01	n. s.	5.54	5.19	.35	n. s.
9 Female	2.97	4.53	1.56	.001	3.62	4.11	.49	n. s.
10 Female	3.79	4.20	.41	n. s.	4.15	5.50	1.35	.01
11 Female	4.86	5.22	.36	n. s.	4.07	4.58	.51	n. s.
12 Female	4.42	5.19	.77	.1	4.18	5.71	1.53	.01

*Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	 Mean of Low	 Difference	 Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	 Mean of Low	 Difference	 Level of Significance
				"saving for future, college"				
9 Male	5.47	3.35	2.12	.001	3.62	2.78	.84	.05
10 Male	4.78	4.20	.58	n.s.*	4.55	2.70	1.85	.001
11 Male	4.48	3.26	1.22	.05	3.39	2.95	.44	n.s.
12 Male	5.05	3.25	1.80	.01	4.15	3.13	1.02	n.s.
9 Female	5.48	3.91	1.57	.001	4.79	3.66	1.13	.02
10 Female	5.21	4.32	.89	.05	4.20	4.00	.20	n.s.
11 Female	4.44	3.94	.50	n.s.	3.60	3.63	.03	n.s.
12 Female	4.76	3.78	.98	.05	5.35	3.36	1.99	.01
				"school costs"				
9 Male	4.47	3.23	1.24	.05	3.89	2.67	.22	n.s.
10 Male	4.22	3.76	.46	n.s.	4.36	3.78	.58	n.s.
11 Male	4.48	3.96	.52	n.s.	4.22	4.32	.10	n.s.
12 Male	4.45	4.04	.41	n.s.	4.38	4.25	.13	n.s.
9 Female	3.83	2.69	.14	n.s.	4.00	3.18	.82	.05
10 Female	3.63	3.16	.47	n.s.	3.65	3.35	.30	n.s.
11 Female	3.67	3.09	.58	n.s.	4.07	3.84	.23	n.s.
12 Female	3.55	2.78	.77	.05	3.65	3.43	.22	n.s.

*Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
				"books"				
9 Male	5.27	4.08	1.19	.05	5.22	4.20	1.02	.01
10 Male	5.13	4.56	.57	n.s.*	4.77	4.22	.55	n.s.
11 Male	5.36	5.11	.25	n.s.	5.56	4.84	.72	n.s.
12 Male	5.50	5.11	.39	n.s.	5.23	4.56	.67	n.s.
9 Female	5.17	4.09	1.08	.01	4.95	3.93	1.02	.001
10 Female	5.08	4.48	.60	n.s.	4.95	4.65	.30	n.s.
11 Female	5.08	4.22	.86	.02	5.07	4.37	.70	n.s.
12 Female	5.55	4.72	.83	.02	4.65	3.79	.86	.1

*Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXII

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PEER DEPENDENT GROUPS ON NUMBER OF HOURS EMPLOYED DURING SCHOOL YEAR

	Riverside High School				Westside Heights High School			
Group	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
9 Male	198.53	85.38	113.15	.05	187.51	148.42	39.09	n.s.*
10 Male	66.06	82.19	16.13	n.s.	263.54	163.89	99.65	n.s.
11 Male	366.94	248.50	118.44	n.s.	305.86	162.00	143.86	n.s.
12 Male	481.53	509.67	28.14	n.s.	401.13	280.19	121.94	n.s.
9 Female	237.60	142.13	95.47	n.s.	135.45	129.24	6.21	n.s.
10 Female	213.08	89.94	123.14	.05	227.55	181.32	46.23	n.s.
11 Female	418.63	248.55	170.08	.05	222.11	203.37	18.74	n.s.
12 Female	340.47	413.47	73.00	n.s.	334.50	272.33	62.17	n.s.

*Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXIII

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PEER DEPENDENT GROUPS ON HIGH SCHOOL COURSE OF STUDY

Group	Riverside High School				Westside Heights High School			
	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
				"not yet decided"				
9 Male	.09	.24	.15	n.s.*	.27	.18	.09	n.s.
10 Male	.44	.38	.06	n.s.	.25	.18	.07	n.s.
11 Male	.29	.00	.29	.01	.19	.00	.19	.05
12 Male	.07	.13	.06	n.s.	.00	.06	.06	n.s.
9 Female	.29	.16	.13	n.s.	.27	.18	.09	n.s.
10 Female	.31	.22	.09	n.s.	.09	.09	.00	n.s.
11 Female	.13	.08	.05	n.s.	.00	.00	.00	n.s.
12 Female	.03	.03	.00	n.s.	.00	.00	.00	n.s.
				"vocational"				
9 Male	.15	.06	.09	n.s.	.10	.05	.05	n.s.
10 Male	.38	.09	.29	.01	.07	.11	.04	n.s.
11 Male	.32	.18	.14	n.s.	.14	.05	.09	n.s.
12 Male	.27	.03	.24	.02	.19	.00	.19	.10

* Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXIII

FACTOR IX: CONFORMITY TO SUBCULTURAL SYMBOLS: APPEARANCE*

		Intercorrelation							Factor
	Item	10	26	19	23	27	17	31	Loading
10.	"Wearing what is comfortable is more important . . ."								.65
26.	"Fads are important to follow . . ."	.20							.36
19.	" . . . select clothes that the others like."	.22	.31						.35
23.	" . . . Scouts are . . . for younger children . . ."	.18	.16	.16					.32
27.	" . . . important to be a good athlete . . ."	.13	.31	.18	.20				.31
17.	" . . . good reasons . . . to wear their hair . . ."	.17	.27	.24	.14	.16			.30
31.	" . . . thinks and acts like his friends . . ."	.14	.34	.26	.15	.18	.22		.30

*Factor IX accounted for 2.1% of the variance.

TABLE XXIV

FACTOR X: SEPARATION FROM PARENTS*

		Intercorrelation				Factor Loading
	Item	45	30	20	2	
45.	"Parents can't really be pals . . ."					.67
30.	"Parents are very helpful during the teen years."	.27				.45
20.	"It is possible to have fun and . . . obey parents."	.20	.26			.35
2.	" . . . get better advice from his friends . . . "	.16	.27	.18		.30

*Factor X accounted for 2.1% of the variance.

APPENDIX C

HIGH AND LOW PEER DEPENDENT GROUPS

TABLE XXXI

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PEER DEPENDENT GROUPS ON SELECTED ITEMS

	Riverside High School				Westside Heights High School			
	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
"If you could be remembered here at school for one of the three things below, which one would it be?" "brilliant student"								
9 Male	.15	.41	.26	.02	.25	.50	.25	.01
10 Male	.22	.45	.23	.05	.25	.61	.36	.01
11 Male	.19	.55	.36	.01	.29	.62	.33	.05
12 Male	.22	.48	.26	.05	.25	.56	.31	.1
9 Female	.13	.60	.47	.001	.07	.49	.42	.001
10 Female	.14	.33	.19	.1	.09	.23	.14	n. s.*
11 Female	.12	.46	.34	.01	.32	.58	.26	n. s.
12 Female	.24	.63	.39	.001	.24	.56	.32	.1
"athletic star (boys); leader in activities (girls)"								
9 Male	.53	.53	.00	n. s.	.51	.38	.13	n. s.
10 Male	.38	.35	.03	n. s.	.36	.29	.07	n. s.
11 Male	.55	.24	.31	.01	.33	.09	.24	.1
12 Male	.44	.24	.20	n. s.	.44	.31	.13	n. s.
9 Female	.24	.18	.06	n. s.	.38	.38	.00	n. s.
10 Female	.33	.42	.09	n. s.	.68	.45	.23	n. s.
11 Female	.27	.34	.07	n. s.	.26	.16	.10	n. s.
12 Female	.37	.16	.21	.05	.35	.22	.13	n. s.

*not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXIII (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School				Westside Heights High School			
	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
				"commercial"				
9 Female	.20	.11	.09	n.s.*	.16	.07	.09	n.s.
10 Female	.36	.11	.25	n.s.	.09	.05	.04	n.s.
11 Female	.32	.18	.14	n.s.	.21	.00	.21	.05
12 Female	.42	.29	.13	n.s.	.22	.22	.00	n.s.
				"college preparatory"				
9 Male	.18	.41	.23	.05	.30	.42	.12	n.s.
10 Male	.06	.38	.32	.01	.36	.54	.18	n.s.
11 Male	.15	.41	.26	.05	.43	.57	.14	n.s.
12 Male	.10	.40	.30	.01	.31	.44	.13	n.s.
9 Female	.09	.47	.38	.01	.15	.36	.21	.05
10 Female	.08	.28	.20	.05	.41	.68	.27	.10
11 Female	.16	.39	.23	.05	.16	.47	.31	.05
12 Female	.18	.29	.11	n.s.	.33	.61	.28	n.s.

* Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXIV

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PEER DEPENDENT GROUPS ON AMOUNT OF TIME COMMITTED TO HOMEWORK

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
	"How much time, on the average, do you spend doing homework outside school?" (Six choices from "none, or almost none" to "3 or more hours a day? Choices were coded from 0 to 6.)							
9 Male	1.76	2.97	1.21	.01	2.58	3.39	.81	.01
10 Male	.91	2.84	1.93	.01	2.29	3.68	1.39	.01
11 Male	1.29	2.29	1.00	.02	3.14	3.29	.15	n.s.*
12 Male	1.60	2.93	1.33	.01	2.38	4.13	1.75	.01
9 Female	2.27	3.33	1.06	.01	3.33	3.80	.47	.05
10 Female	2.81	3.28	.47	n.s.	3.32	4.00	.68	n.s.
11 Female	2.87	3.29	.42	n.s.	3.37	4.89	1.52	.01
12 Female	2.97	3.08	.11	n.s.	3.44	4.61	1.17	.02

* Not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXV

FACTOR XI: CONSENSUAL VALIDATION*

	Item	Intercorrelation 38	 50	 44	 19	Factor Loading
38.	" . . . should go along with them . . . "					.58
50.	" . . . (discuss statements with a friend) . . ."	.14				.57
44.	" . . . 'talk it over' (with friends) . . . "	.10	.20			.37
19.	" . . . select clothes that the others like."	.16	.17	.19		.34

*Factor XI accounted for 2.1% of the variacne.

TABLE XXVI

FACTOR XII: UNTITLED*

	Item	Intercorrelation 16	 2	 27	 8	Factor Loading
16.	" . . . meets people his own age (at school) . . ."					.64
2.	" . . . get better advice from his friends . . ."	.14				.53
27.	" . . . important to be a good athlete . . . "	.16	.21			.41
8.	" . . . take classes with their friends . . ."	.13	.18	.14		.34

*Factor XII accounted for 2.0% of the variance.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

	Riverside High School				Westside Heights High School			
	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
				"most popular"				
9 Male	.12	.03	.09	.1	.14	.05	.09	n.s.*
10 Male	.25	.06	.19	.05	.21	.00	.21	.02
11 Male	.13	.03	.10	.1	.24	.14	.10	n.s.
12 Male	.19	.07	.12	n.s.*	.25	.06	.19	n.s.
9 Female	.40	.04	.36	.001	.44	.02	.42	.001
10 Female	.39	.14	.25	.02	.23	.05	.18	.1
11 Female	.52	.09	.43	.001	.37	.05	.32	.02
12 Female	.34	.03	.31	.001	.35	.17	.18	n.s.
	"What does it take to be really popular and well-liked? Rank the following from 1 to 5. Give 1 to the quality that is most likely to lead to popularity, 2 to the quality that is next, and so on down to 5."							
				"good student"				
9 Male	3.65	2.24	1.41	.001	3.31	2.96	.35	n.s.
10 Male	3.39	2.79	.60	.1	3.32	2.81	.51	.1
11 Male	3.63	2.93	.70	.02	3.05	3.47	-.42	n.s.
12 Male	3.32	3.00	.32	n.s.	3.50	2.69	.81	.05
9 Female	3.25	2.58	-.67	.05	3.62	2.82	..80	.001
10 Female	3.53	2.52	1.01	.001	3.70	2.70	1.00	.01
11 Female	3.51	3.11	.40	n.s.	3.69	3.17	.52	.1
12 Female	3.32	2.58	.74	.01	3.56	2.81	.75	.05

*not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXI (Continued)

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
"star athlete (boys); leader in activities (girls)"								
9 Male	2.94	3.19	.25	n.s.*	2.79	3.13	.34	n.s.
10 Male	3.13	2.68	.45	n.s.	2.95	3.27	.32	n.s.
11 Male	2.44	3.14	.70	.05	2.89	2.68	.21	n.s.
12 Male	2.52	3.24	.72	.05	3.14	3.50	.36	n.s.
9 Female	3.44	3.28	.16	n.s.	3.05	3.20	.15	n.s.
10 Female	3.00	3.10	.10	n.s.	2.85	2.95	.10	n.s.
11 Female	3.14	3.11	.03	n.s.	2.88	3.00	.12	n.s.
12 Female	3.22	3.28	.06	n.s.	2.56	3.19	.63	.1
"attractive or handsome"								
9 Male	1.88	4.04	2.16	.001	2.29	3.23	.94	.001
10 Male	2.43	3.46	1.03	.01	2.27	3.27	1.00	.01
11 Male	3.04	3.38	.34	n.s.	3.11	3.00	.11	n.s.
12 Male	2.64	2.86	.22	n.s.	2.14	2.94	.80	.05
9 Female	2.50	3.53	1.03	.01	2.21	3.47	1.26	.001
10 Female	2.63	3.68	1.05	.01	2.25	3.40	1.15	.05
11 Female	2.32	3.57	1.25	.001	2.19	3.39	1.20	.01
12 Female	2.54	3.58	1.04	.001	2.78	3.56	1.78	.05

*not significant at .1 level.

TABLE XXXV

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW PEER DEPENDENT GROUPS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD EMPLOYMENT

Group	Riverside High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance	Westside Heights High School Mean of High	Mean of Low	Difference	Level of Significance
"Rank the five items below in terms of their importance to you on a job. (Rank 1 as "most important" to 5 as "least important.")								
"the chance for a rapid rise"								
9 Male	2.12	2.85	.73	.10	2.37	3.06	.69	.02
10 Male	2.63	3.07	.44	n.s.*	2.96	3.19	.23	n.s.
11 Male	2.15	3.03	.88	.01	3.50	3.65	.15	n.s.
12 Male	2.42	3.45	1.03	.01	2.57	3.63	1.06	.05
9 Female	2.81	3.75	.94	.01	2.46	3.68	1.22	.01
10 Female	3.12	3.57	.45	n.s.	3.20	3.85	.65	n.s.
11 Female	3.24	4.00	.76	.02	2.88	3.72	.84	.10
12 Female	3.36	3.54	.18	n.s.	3.35	4.06	.71	.10
"a high income"								
9 Male	2.47	2.56	.09	n.s.	2.33	2.04	.29	n.s.
10 Male	2.96	2.25	.71	n.s.	2.57	1.74	.83	.05
11 Male	3.04	2.03	1.01	.01	2.33	1.35	.98	.02
12 Male	3.08	2.07	1.01	.02	2.36	1.69	.67	n.s.
9 Female	2.06	2.08	.02	n.s.	2.15	1.62	.53	.05
10 Female	2.27	2.00	.27	n.s.	1.75	1.35	.40	n.s.
11 Female	1.94	1.51	.43	.10	2.31	1.56	.75	.10
12 Female	2.11	1.86	.25	n.s.	1.82	1.35	.47	n.s.

* Not significant at .1 level.